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FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES  
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE  
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.



London:

PUBLISHED FOR THE ASSOCIATION  
BY

DAVID NUTT, 57-59, LONG ACRE.

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## P R E F A C E.

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THE FOURTEENTH VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION contains a number of Papers which were read during the Session of 1907-8, and some which have been communicated by the President and other members. The thanks of the Association are due to the authors of these Papers, and once more a special word of gratitude must be given to the President for his generosity in providing illustrations.

It is satisfactory to note that the position of the Association has been considerably strengthened during the past three years : good work has been done by various members, and it has been found possible to give financial assistance to archæological research in several parts of the country. It is hoped, however, that this will be regarded only as the beginning of an improvement which must be continuously maintained until a far higher degree of influence and efficiency is reached. To this end more work is required—sound, accurate, and scholarly work, as distinguished from mere speculation or sensational theorising—and at present the workers are too few. It is a time of movement in archæological matters, and that movement is likely to be stimulated by the recent appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the antiquities of the country, the importance of which, as materials for the reconstruction of the past, is becoming more generally recognised every day. It is very desirable that the British Archæological

Association should play a leading part in the work that is likely to be done in the near future, and for this purpose an increase of members, and especially of working members, is of the utmost importance.

Attention is drawn to the section of the JOURNAL entitled "Archæological Notes," and it is hoped that more assistance will be given by the members of the Association towards making it as complete a record as possible of recent discoveries, and of other matters of interest which may come under observation from time to time. The Hon. Treasurer will be glad to receive communications of this nature, as such support will lighten the task of editing the JOURNAL.

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CORSTOPTUM : GROUP OF LION AND STAG.





THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
British Archaeological Association.

MARCH, 1908.

THE CORBRIDGE EXCAVATIONS, 1907.

By R. H. FORSTER, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Hon. Treasurer.

(Read December 18th, 1907.)



IN a previous number of the *Journal*<sup>1</sup> some account was given of the work done on the site of the Roman city of Corstopitum in 1906. The excavations carried out during the year 1907 have been more extensive in their scope and have produced results of greater importance, but the evidence discovered consistently confirms the supposition to which the previous year's work gave rise, viz., that at any rate during the greater part of its history Corstopitum was an unfortified civil town, though no doubt intimately connected with the military life of the eastern Wall district, and probably making its livelihood to a large extent by supplying the needs of the neighbouring Wall garrisons. It is this which gives a peculiar interest to the place and a special fascination to the work of excavation. Within certain limits, the Roman military stations in the North of England are much alike, but at Corbridge we have something quite dissimilar—a town in

<sup>1</sup> N.S., vol. xii, p. 202.

the main of a non-military character, which has already thrown some light, and may be expected to throw much more, on the civil life of Northern Britain in Roman times.

Corstopitum stood on the great road which forms the northern part of the first *Iter*, twenty Roman miles from Bremenium, which seems to have been the northernmost outpost of the Roman power at the date when the Antonine Itinerary was compiled, and about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the south of the Wall of the lower isthmus. The line of the bridge, which carried this road across the Tyne to the outskirts of Corstopitum, was surveyed in 1906, and it was then thought probable that the remains of the north abutment would be unearthed during the following year. This expectation was not realised, but much interesting work was done on the road, at a point which was evidently contiguous to the abutment and at the foot of the slope leading up to the town. Here the work of three periods was traceable. The lowest and earliest road was 37 ft. wide and of excellent construction. On a thick bed of rough materials was a layer of sand, on which was laid a bed of tightly-rammed cobble-stones and gravel, 18 ins. thick, forming a hard and even surface. At either side the road was edged by kerbs of striking proportions and fine workmanship, those on the west being 2 ft. 3 ins. high, 9 ins. thick, and from 3 ft. to 4 ft. long; those on the east were of the same thickness, and about 3 ins. less in height, but of an even greater average length. These kerbs were penned on the outside by rough stones, the penning on the western side extending for a distance of over 40 ft.

The road of the second period was a foot higher than the first, and appeared to have been little more than a remetalling of the older surface. About 3 ft. higher still were found the remains of a third road, which presented many points of interest. The construction was poor, the road consisting of less than a foot of cobbles lying on clay; the kerbs were thin and laid flat, merely forming an edging without lending support to the road, and the width was only 24 ft., except at a point which appeared to be close to the site of the abutment, where the road

was widened by an offset at either side to a breadth of 40 ft. Two stone drains were found under this road, just within the edges, and close to its eastern side was another stone drain of heavier construction, roofed for the most part with channel stones taken up from some earlier road. It seems probable that this third road dates from the fourth century, and possibly it was a reconstruction made after a period of abandonment. The raising of the level appears to have been carried out for the purpose of easing the gradient, as the slope of the original road must have been fairly heavy. Two cuts were made across the line of the road about 90 yds. and 100 yds. up the hill, and at these points no trace of the third period road was found, but only a single heavy layer of compact cobbles and gravel corresponding in breadth and quality to the first period road already described. The kerbs, however, had been removed.

A small amount of work was also done on the south side of the river, with the object of determining the course of the road across Dilston Haughs. Maclauchlan's Survey (1857) marks "faint traces" on a line which crosses the haughs obliquely and forms a considerable angle with the line of the bridge, and a cut made across the line so indicated certainly disclosed the remains of a road, but of such poor quality that it was impossible to take it for the main approach to Corstopitum from the south. Further investigation on the south side of the river is necessary, but it seems not unlikely that the road, instead of bending sharply to the left at the southern end of the bridge, ran straight across the haughs and turned towards the east only after reaching the lower slopes of the opposite side of the valley. In Roman times the haughs would probably be marshy and insecure ground, and the suggested line would cross them at about their narrowest part. The road discovered on Maclauchlan's line may have been a short cut for foot passengers and light traffic.

Another important piece of work carried out during the past season was the further exploration of a large house in the south-west quarter of the town, of which a small part was uncovered in 1906. Some work still



remains to be done in the north-east corner, but a practically complete and intelligible plan of the building has been obtained. It is of considerable size, the length east and west being over 140 ft., and shows evidence of having been more than once reconstructed, or at any rate remodelled, during the period of the Roman occupation. At least two floor-levels occur throughout, and below the lower of these, which was always of better quality than the upper, remains of foundations were discovered, lying not quite in line with the later walls, and apparently belonging to an earlier house; but these foundations were so scanty that it was not possible to make even a conjectural plan of the original building. The house, as it existed in the later stages of its existence, seems to have consisted of a range of rooms of no great size,<sup>1</sup> running east and west, with a return southwards at either end, the building thus enclosing three sides of an open court, measuring 60 ft. by 28 ft., which appears to have been divided into three compartments. This portion, however, has been more completely wrecked than the rest, and as the foundations were close to the present surface level, a great deal had been ploughed away, and the position of the walls could only be traced by the clay and cobble foundations.

Communication between the rooms was obtained by means of two corridors, one of which extended along the full length of the north side of the house; the other lay on the south side of the central chambers and the inner sides of the chambers forming the returns at the east and west ends. This southern corridor had been considerably altered at various times. Under one section of its central part were found the remains of a pillared hypocaust, shown on the plate, which appeared to be an insertion of later date than the original corridor. There had been four rows of *pilæ*, built of squared stones with, in a few cases, a flat brick for a foundation course, and the walls of the corridor had been partly supported on the side rows, which had given under the thrust. The interstices between the *pilæ* of these side rows were not lined with

<sup>1</sup> 18 ft. by 14 ft. may be taken as a fair average.





CORSTOFTUM · PILLARED HYPOCAUST.



masonry, but packed with stones and clay. The photograph here reproduced was taken from the site of the furnace of this hypocaust, looking eastwards. In the background is seen the *opus signinum* pavement of the adjoining section of the corridor, with the stone sill of the doorway which separated the two: these belong to the middle period of the house's existence, the corridor having been subsequently widened by building a new south wall. A new pavement was then run across the full width at a higher level, but this had been of much poorer quality and had almost entirely disappeared. These two pavements corresponded in level with the two floors found in the adjoining chambers on the north side of the corridor, in one of which a coin of Carausius (A.D. 287-293) was found between the floors. It therefore seems likely that the last remodelling of the house took place at a date not earlier than the close of the third century.

Three of the chambers at the west end of the building had been fitted with hypocausts of much rougher construction, and adjoining the north-west angle were the latrines, which had been flushed by two converging drains. Along the south side of the building and its enclosed court, on the brow of what in Roman times must have been a steep slope to the lower ground beside the river, was a cobbled path, in front of which, built against the face of the slope, was a curious stepped projecting base, about 18 ft. in length and still remaining over 5 ft. high. It was well built of dressed stones, put together without mortar, the absence of which seems to preclude the idea that it was the base of any substantial building: it may have supported a light structure, perhaps of wood and plaster, or it may have been simply a projecting terrace, commanding a good view of the valley and pleasantly exposed to the sun.

On the north side of the north corridor were found the remains of a small court which proved to be of the utmost importance. These remains were difficult to date, as they belonged to two, if not to three periods, and the court had been practically destroyed in Roman times. Its principal feature was a tank or cistern, measuring internally about 11 ft. by 8 ft., which appeared to have

originally been about 4 ft. deep. The walls were of rough masonry with a backing of clay, and the tank had been lined with red *opus signinum* of good quality. At the south-east corner a pipe led through the wall into a stone drain, in which were found a quantity of shells of the deep-sea oyster. Below the floor of the tank there were traces of earlier occupation, and at some period it had been filled in with *débris* and rubbish; a wall had been built across it from south to north, and a stone drain from east to west, the latter being one of the drains which supplied water to the latrines. The wall and other filling were removed, and amongst the *débris* was found the fine group of the lion and stag, which is shown on the Plate. The group, which is 3 ft. in height and the same in length, had been broken through the lion's legs, but the parts fitted together, and only a comparatively small chip was missing. The stone is a fine grit, identical with the best quality grit obtained at the present day from the High Level Quarry on Corbridge Fell, on the opposite side of the valley, and the sculpture has formed a fountain, which, we may suppose, played into the tank already described. The stag, which is represented as in a state of collapse, rests on a base which has evidently formed part of the coping of a wall or balustrade. The lion stands on the stag's back, with one forepaw on the right antler and the other in the act of tearing the forehead, and his pose suggests that he has just been disturbed by some intruder, but his eyes are his most noticeable feature; they are distinctively human, and give the face a most curious expression. The simplest explanation of the fact is that the sculptor had never seen a real lion, at any rate at such close quarters as to enable him to observe the shape of the eye. Instances of lions with human eyes have been found at Stanwix and Kirby Thore.<sup>1</sup> In these cases the sculpture is of a much ruder character, and the lions appear to be Mithraic, so that there is more ground for suspecting symbolism. The Corbridge lion does not appear to be at all Mithraic in character, but is rather a piece of attempted realism.

<sup>1</sup> *Lapid. Septent.*, 480, 759, 760.



The work has some vigour and is decidedly remarkable for a remote part of the Empire and a period of artistic decadence. No definite clue to its date has been discovered, but the fact that the group was found buried in a disused tank points to a comparatively early period, and it may be assigned conjecturally to the second century.

It was impossible to determine the exact position which the group had occupied in relation to the tank, but there is no doubt that it had formed a fountain. A groove in the stag's shoulder at the back indicated the line of the water-pipe, which had been introduced into the lion's mouth through an opening at the back. The group seems to have been intended to stand in front of some kind of wall or screen, as the back is much more roughly carved than the front. Amongst the rubbish removed from the tank was a thin stone slab, pierced with a round hole, which might have formed part of such a screen, but it was impossible to say definitely that it did so, and no other traces were found of a structure of the kind suggested, or of the water-supply for the fountain.

A considerable space on the north side of the house was in a state of practically inexplicable confusion. The foundations of a building were found, running parallel to, and presumably contemporary with, the earliest foundations on the house site; but the building had been razed and the foundations covered by a later cobble pavement, which seemed to indicate that at some period part of the space referred to had been used as a yard in connection with the house. To the west of this the space was crossed from north to south by two adjacent and parallel lines of what appeared to be foundations, but these were of such poor quality and rough construction that the formation even of a working hypothesis was impossible.

Along the north side of this space more definite remains were discovered. Here a cobbled road ran east and west, and probably joined the main road from the bridge. Along its northern edge was a raised terrace, or paved walk, about 5 ft. broad; and abutting on the terrace, in the eastern half of the area reserved for excavation, was a long, narrow building, containing a single row of chambers,

one of which appeared from its width—3 ft., increasing to 3 ft. 9 in. at the south end—to have been designed for a staircase, leading either to an upper story or to the higher ground level behind. In front of a portion of this terrace, and close to its facing wall, four stones socketed for posts had been placed at regular intervals: as they were set on the Roman ground-surface without any foundation, they could not have supported any heavy structure, but they may have carried a light verandah or balcony.

The road already mentioned seems originally to have run in front of the terrace, but at a later time it was remade and gradually sloped up till it reached the terrace level, from which point westwards a few feet of its northern edge ran on the terrace itself. The character of the chambers fronting on the terrace was difficult to determine; they had been paved, and produced a large number of bones of animals, a moderate amount of pottery, including some "Samian," burnt wood, and other articles, amongst which was a small crucible. This came from the westernmost chamber, in which were found other indications suggesting that the place had been a workshop of some kind; the other chambers may have been of the same character, or they may have been storehouses or dwelling-rooms. More definite evidence may perhaps be obtained in the future, as the range of chambers extended beyond the eastern limit of the reserved area into a portion of the adjoining field which has not yet been excavated.

To the north of this range of buildings was a large space in which practically no foundations occurred, the natural gravel being found at a small depth below the present surface. If this space was ever occupied by buildings, even their foundation courses have been consistently taken up, and perhaps it is more reasonable to suggest that in Roman times this was open ground. Such a view derives some support from the fact that a number of rubbish pits were found in it. Apparently there had originally been a small dene or hollow running down the western slope of the hill, the centre-line of which more or less coincided with the northern boundary of the reserved area, and the rubbish pits had been dug





CORSTOPTUM: FRAGMENTS OF AMPHORE.



along the bottom and southern slope, the dene having in later Roman times been filled in and levelled over. The pits varied in shape and size and in depth below the present surface, the deepest being about 13 ft., and they produced a quantity of pottery, including a large number of fragments of *amphoræ*, some of which are shown on the Plate. One or two of the necks were particularly interesting, as remains of the pitch or resinous matter used for sealing the jar were still adhering to the inside of the mouth.<sup>1</sup> Several specimens of plain and embossed "Samian" were recovered in a sufficiently complete state to admit of restoration, and the other finds included a bronze jug, about 11 in. high, and a very pretty little double-handled vase or scent-bottle of greenish-blue glass, which had originally been suspended by a bronze chain. The easternmost pit opened was found to contain a quantity of sewage matter, similar in character to that found during 1906 in trenches cut on the southern limit of the town; also several fragments of wood on which vivianite had formed, and an embossed bronze cheek-piece of a helmet. In filling in this pit use had been made of some large fragments of a very hard limestone, which occurs at Bewclay, on the Dere Street, about four miles to the north. A very substantial wall, 6 ft. thick, with a splayed plinth on the outer face, had been built over the top of the filling. In the neighbourhood of the pit all but a trace of the foundation course had been removed, but a few yards to the north it was found standing several courses high and made a return to the east, but as it ran into a field not included in the reserved area, it could not be followed further.

The remains already described lay on the south-western slope of the plateau on which the Roman city stood, and the excavations were continued in a neighbouring field which occupies a considerable part of the summit. Here the first noteworthy feature discovered was an important

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Horace, *Od.*, III, viii, 9 :—

"Hic dies, anno redeunte, festus  
Corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit  
Amphoræ fœdum bibere institutæ  
Consule Tullo."

street, running roughly east and west, and for the most part about 37 ft. wide, though for some distance the building line on the south side had been set back another 15 ft. The breadth given seems to correspond with the main road from the bridge, and certainly the appearance of the ground in the field on the west, after the corn had been carted away, suggested that the bridge-road curved round and became the street in question ; but the point is one for future excavation to determine. The street running east and west was paved with cobbles, and the pavement had sustained some damage from the plough, as it lay less than a foot below the surface, and most of its gutter stones had been removed, some in comparatively recent times ; but it was subsequently found that two other street levels lay beneath it, the lower being about 5 ft. below the surface, with a similar pavement but of better construction.

The buildings on the south side of the street were thoroughly examined, as far as it was possible, but the more easterly of them extended through the south hedge of the field, so that only a portion could be unearthed, and a full consideration of the evidence relating to them must be postponed until a future year's excavations makes that evidence complete. One building, however, lay entirely within the area available, and proved to be of no ordinary interest and importance. The main foundations appeared to belong to a comparatively early structure, the character of which was not indicated by any evidence ; but on the north-west quarter of this site a building of poor quality had been erected, of which it is possible to say with a fair amount of certainty that at a date a little before the middle of the fourth century it was used as a pottery shop or store. On the north and west sides the walls had been built on the old foundations, which had a good stone drain running beside them. On the east and south sides new foundations of a very rough character had been put in, and the rest of the site of the older building appeared to have been used as a yard.

The interior of the shop itself, however, was the most interesting part of the site. Over the whole of it, with the exception of a narrow strip along the street front,





CORSTOPTUM : THE POTTERY SHOP.



extended a layer of burnt matter—principally wood ashes—about 7 in. thick, in which an extraordinary quantity of fragments of pottery were embedded, the different kinds of ware being found in different quarters of the shop. In the north-west quarter nothing but “Samian” was discovered; in the north-east only British-made brown and grey wares occurred; and the back half of the shop was entirely occupied by fragments of buffish-white *mortaria* or food-vessels, which were probably locally manufactured from a local clay. It was clear that the shop had been burnt down with the stock standing on the shelves, and that as the shelves had been destroyed, the vessels had fallen to the ground and been broken either by the fall or by the eventual collapse of the roof.

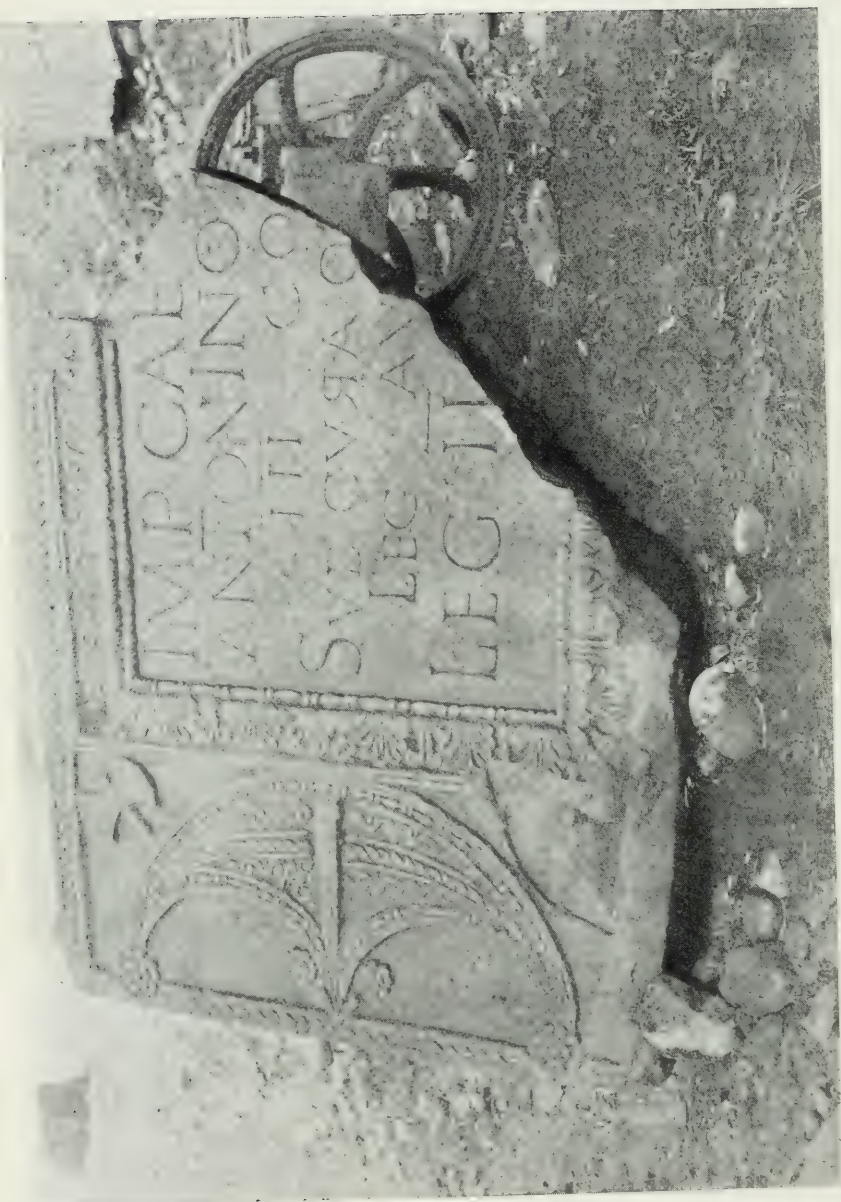
In one quarter of the shop a deposit of coins was discovered, which appeared to represent the contents of the till, and about a dozen which are decipherable give some clue to the date at which the fire occurred. The bulk of them are coins of the Constantine family, the latest of this class being one of Constantinus II, dating from A.D. 337-340, and the condition of these specimens indicates that they had not been long in circulation. It is true that a coin of Valentinian I and one of Gratian (A.D. 383) were also found, but the condition of the earlier coins certainly indicates that these two must have been dropped on the surface and worked down at a date subsequent to the fire, when the site was lying vacant, as it appears to have done during the remainder of the existence of Corstopitum; no trace was found of any occupation after the date of the fire. It is therefore conjectured that the fire took place some time between the years 340 and 345, and this is corroborated by the discovery, below the latest street level at a point further to the east, of a quantity of small bronze coins—third brass and *minimi*—which had evidently been subjected to the action of fire. These, so far as they can be identified, belong to the Constantinian period, and suggest that there was a serious fire about the date already indicated, and there is some evidence, though at present insufficient for a definite conclusion, that this fire was followed by a period of abandonment. In the series

of bronze coins found during the year there is a gap of several years (*circ.* A.D. 345-364), no coins minted during that period having been discovered, and this agrees with the evidence obtained at other places in the North of England. Possibly this may point to a period of ruin, and possibly we may ascribe the restoration of the town to the elder Theodosius. That something in the way of restoration was done, either in the time of Theodosius or somewhat earlier, seems likely from the position of the burnt coins already mentioned, and also from the fact that a coin of Valentinian I was found below the surface of the latest street. This uppermost pavement may thus be provisionally ascribed to the latter half of the fourth century, and the third period road near the north abutment of the bridge may well be of about the same date.

The pottery shop is likely to be the subject of much further discussion in relation to the evidence it affords as to the date up to which the manufacture of "Samian" ware was continued. It has generally been held that the manufacture even of plain "Samian" came to an end, at the latest, soon after the opening of the fourth century, and that in the latter part of this period the ware produced had deteriorated greatly in quality, glaze, etc. The "Samian" found in the pottery shop consists of plain, straight-sided cups, bowls, and dishes, most of which bear a potter's mark. Five small cups, one practically perfect, with the mark of Albillus were found, and the quality of these and others is fairly good, the glaze being of quite a good class, in spite of the fact that many of the fragments have been subjected to fire to such an extent that they have been burnt quite black. If the deductions based on the finds of coins are correct, it would seem that this "Samian" was exposed for sale in Corstopitum somewhere about A.D. 340. Were these pieces still in stock half a century or more after their manufacture? Or was the manufacture of fairly good "Samian" continued later than has hitherto been supposed? These are the questions to which the discovery gives rise, and careful consideration is needed before we attempt to give an answer.

The building next to the pottery shop on the east, the





CORSTOPTUM: INSCRIBED SLAB.



front of which is set back 15 ft. from the street, extends through the hedge, and cannot yet be fully described. So far it appears to consist of two houses with a continuous front wall and two parallel party walls, with a narrow space between them, and the entrances seem to have been from side lanes and not from the main street; whether they were domestic buildings or shops, it is too early to say, but some interesting objects were found in the course of their excavation. These included a draught-board of fifty-six squares, roughly scratched on a thin slab of stone, and a number of turned bone draughtsmen, a bronze brooch in the shape of a sitting hare, and a substantial block of stone with a rudely-cut inscription, which apparently records the name of one Apollonius. Further still to the east are the chaotic remains of what appears to have been an important building, with a wall 5 ft. thick, having a splayed plinth on the outer side, but only a corner of it lay within the field, and at present it is impossible to account for the extremely confused and confusing features which the excavation of this small portion brought to light. It is only possible to say that it bears the appearance of a comparatively early building, which has at some time been destroyed or allowed to fall into ruin, and afterwards partially restored; but this conclusion must be subject to correction when the rest of the site is investigated.

The north wall of the building just mentioned ran obliquely through the south hedge of the field before its east angle was reached, and the only other buildings investigated lay on the north side of the street. In the course of making a cut to determine the width of the street, the digging was carried somewhat below the latest street level, in order to ascertain whether the north gutter had been removed. This led to the discovery of a large slab of stone, which was raised and proved to be a considerable fragment of an important inscribed slab, with a finely carved border, terminating at the ends in semi-lunar shield ornaments. The stone used must have come from the Black Pasture Quarries near Chollerford, stone from which is still in demand for fine work, and the inscription, as restored by Professor Haverfield, runs as follows :—

IMP. CAES. (T.) AEL. (Hadrian) o  
 ANTONINO (Aug. pio trib. pot.)  
 III Co(s. iii. p.p.)

SVB CVRA Q. (Lolli Urbici)  
 LEG. AV(g. pro praetore)  
 LEG. II. (Aug.....)

That is to say, this slab was set up, probably to commemorate the erection of some important building, under the Emperor Antoninus Pius, in the third year of his holding the tribunitian power (A.D. 140), which was also the year of his third consulship, under the superintendence of Quintus Lollius Urbicus, Proprætor, by the Second (Augustan) Legion. It is possible that the last line also recorded the name of the Sixth Legion or some other troop. In the year A.D. 140 Lollius Urbicus was preparing for the campaign which resulted in the subjugation of the southern part of Scotland and the erection of the Turf Wall between the Forth and the Clyde. It appears from this inscription that the Second Legion, which has left its memorials on the Antonine Wall, was advancing by the route of the first *Iter*, and during a halt at Corstopitum erected or repaired some important building.<sup>1</sup>

This is confirmed by the discovery, in the immediate vicinity of the first slab, of a fragment of another, bearing a representation of a legionary standard, on which are inscribed the words <sup>VEXILLVS</sup> LEG II AVG. The fragment seems to have been part of a large slab, perhaps consisting of three panels, and a small portion of what is probably the upper left-hand corner of the same slab is now preserved in Corbridge Church. The form *vexillus* for *vexillum* is, of course, an error on the part of the stone-cutter, but not unprecedented in inscriptions.

On the discovery of these stones a search was made for further fragments, and a few small pieces of the Antoninus slab were found. The work also disclosed part of the foundations of a building, the floor of which had apparently

<sup>1</sup> A smaller and much plainer slab, found at High Rochester (Bremenium) on the same route, records work done in the reign of Antoninus Pius, under Lollius Urbicus, by the *Cohors I Lingunum*.



CORSTOUTI M. - FRAGMENT OF ORNAMENTAL TABLET.





been supported by low sleeper-walls ; but time did not allow of the further investigation of this site, which will probably be thoroughly excavated during the coming summer.

Just to the east of this building another structure of great importance was discovered. As will be seen from the accompanying Plate, this consists of a *podium* of fine masonry, which has been strongly cramped together. This platform stands 2 ft. high, and measures 13 ft. 6 in. from north to south ; the longest side, facing the street, measures 19 ft., and in front of it is a trough or tank, measuring internally 15 ft. 5 in. by 5 ft. 9 in., constructed of large slabs of stone, those forming the sides being grooved at the edges and the grooves filled with cement, except at the east end of the south side, where the original stone has been replaced at a later date by two smaller stones badly fitted, and at the north-east and north-west corners, where the end slabs fit into grooves. The slabs of the north side have been cramped to the front of the *podium*, and those of the three open sides have been worn into a kind of irregular scalloping, probably by the scraping of water-vessels which were filled from the trough. Near the south side there was a shallow channel running along the bottom to an outlet at the south-west corner, which communicated with a drain.

At either side of the front of the *podium* there had been a substantial pedestal ; on the west only the base remained, but on the east the base was surmounted by a block of stone 2 ft. 5 in. square and 3 ft. 6 in. high, with a dowel hole on the top. There had been an inscription on the south face of this stone, but only a single letter, apparently an L, remained. The *podium* itself appears to have been surrounded by a low screen, consisting of pilasters and intervening panels, some fragments of which were discovered ; but it is not probable that it supported any heavy superstructure. Near the back were found fragments of a small pediment, of which enough remained to show that the design had represented two winged Victories supporting a circular panel enclosed in a wreath, the whole pediment being surmounted by an

interlaced open cable moulding. Only a few letters of the inscription remained, but from these Professor Haverfield was able to ascertain that it recorded the work of the Twentieth Legion :—

L E G

X X . V . V .

F E C I T

The length of the pediment must have been between 7 ft. and 8 ft., and it is therefore too short to have surmounted any erection along the front of the *podium*. It may, however, have formed the top of a light doorway at the back or narrow end, but further excavation is needed in this direction, and will probably be carried out in the coming season.

The purpose of this remarkable structure is still somewhat obscure. It seems fairly clear that the trough was used as a public pant or fountain, from which the inhabitants of this quarter of the town obtained a supply of water in their own vessels, and while the trough was in use the *podium* may have supported some sort of cistern, the water issuing through jets fixed in the front panels of the stone screen. It seems probable, however, from various details of the construction that the trough was added to the *podium* at a later date, and in that case the latter may originally have served some other purpose. It may have supported some sort of shrine or monument, or it may have been a *rostrum* from which a speaker could address a crowd gathered in the widened portion of the street on which it fronts. These, however, are purely conjectural explanations, and probably more light will be thrown on the question when the ground immediately to the north has been explored.

With regard to the objects discovered during the course of the excavations, reference has already been made to many of the most important specimens of pottery. In addition to the vessels recovered from the pottery shop, a large quantity of fragments of plain and decorated "Samian" was obtained, one of the most interesting being a piece of a decorated bowl with a potter's stamp, LVTAEVS FEC, on the plain band below the rim.



CORSTOTIUM: BASE AND TROUGH OF FOUNTAIN.









CORSTOPITUM : PILLAR WITH INCISED FIGURE.

One curious vessel was a barrel-shaped bottle, apparently made of the local clay, with a two-handled neck rising from the side of the barrel, and four small feet. Two earthenware candlesticks were also found. The metal objects included a sword, several spear-heads and arrow-heads, a lock and key, a chain, and a number of tools, mostly in bad condition, as Corbridge is less fortunate than Newstead, where the peaty character of the soil preserves ironwork in quite an unusual manner. The bronze objects not already mentioned included some enamelled bronze brooches. Another interesting find was the torso of a small statue of Mercury, who seems to have been much in favour in this district, and the pillar shown on the Plate, with a rudely incised figure, probably the work of a child, is very curious.

A considerable amount of work was done with the object of testing the theory, which has been held by many writers, that a town or settlement existed on the site of Corstopitum in pre-Roman times. Maclauchlan in particular considered that the existence of such a settlement would account for the fact that the great road from York seems to come out of its way to cross the river at this point, instead of crossing it near Riding Mill, about two miles to the east. This peculiarity would, however, be equally well explained if, as is quite possible but as yet unproved, another road branched from the Dere Street at or near the south end of the bridge and ran in a south-westerly direction to join the Maiden Way near Alston. Up to the present, at any rate, no trustworthy evidence of a pre-Roman occupation has been found: a few rough flint flakes and broken scrapers have occurred in the soil, and a deep trench to the south of the house site produced a barbed and tanged flint arrow-head and a number of small flint chippings; but these cannot be regarded even as raising a presumption of a permanent occupation. Fragments of pottery of a very rough character were found not infrequently, but always in connection with other remains of undoubtedly Roman origin.

A quantity of animal bones from the site have been examined by Professor Meek, of the Armstrong College.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne. They include more than one variety of the *Bos Longifrons*, pony, sheep, pig, dog, red-deer, roe-deer, badger, fox, swan, goose, duck, pheasant, and grouse. One bone proved to be a lower jaw of the European beaver, which had not been previously found in this neighbourhood.

The work of excavation will be continued in July on an area which has been reserved to the north of the street already described. This area covers a large part of what, so far as can be judged, is the centre of the town, and it is hoped that its excavation will lead to important discoveries. The total extent of Corstopitum has not yet been ascertained, but it was certainly larger than the 22 acres which Maclauchlan gives conjecturally. It is clear that a work of considerable magnitude still lies before the Excavation Committee; but it is a work of great interest, promise, and importance, and it is to be hoped that the Committee will be generously supported in their efforts to bring it to a successful conclusion.







## WAREHAM.

BY J. G. N. CLIFT, Esq., HON. SECRETARY.



At what precise date the site upon which the present town of Wareham stands was first occupied, is a question that can only be solved by careful excavation. Such antiquities as have been discovered within the town or in the immediate vicinity, and have been recorded or preserved, throw some light upon the question, although from the nature of the finds it is impossible to assert anything absolutely definite as to the probable age of the original settlement.

There is no evidence, so far as can be ascertained, of any permanent Neolithic occupation of the actual site, though an axe-head of syenite of a somewhat uncommon form was found some years ago in the neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup> To the north, to the south, and to the west of the town many tumuli are to be observed, and in the King Barrow, Stowborough, was found a trunk interment, unaccompanied, it would seem, by any trace of metal, but yielding a lathe-turned cup of Kimmeridge shale.<sup>2</sup> As, however, the use of this material for ornamental purposes continued down to late Romano-British times, too much importance must not be attached to any finds of objects manufactured from it. It is recorded that "Kimmeridge shale money," which in reality is mostly turners' waste material, has been found within the town, and it is said that all the chief objects hitherto found lay at a depth of about 6 ft. from the surface of the ground. It will accordingly be

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *Stone Implements*, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, 3rd Edition, vol. i. p. 38.

seen that there is no real evidence of a Neolithic occupation, though of course a systematic examination of the unoccupied land within the town walls might perhaps yield some proof of the existence of a settlement during that period.

The Bronze Age is perhaps more extensively represented in the district, though it does not appear that any finds have been made within Wareham itself. In a barrow near the King Barrow on Stowborough Heath was found a socketted celt, with a hollowed un moulded top, sloping away from the side on which the loop was cast.<sup>1</sup> Another bronze celt, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. long, with a nearly square socket and a somewhat elongated blade, was found near the town, and this implement is interesting from the fact that while the type is common in the north-west of France, in England it is almost exclusively confined to the southern counties; and it is by no means an impossible deduction from these circumstances that not only did the particular type originate in Gaul, but that there was some sort of export trade with this country during the age of bronze.<sup>2</sup> Other celts of a similar type have been found in the New Forest,<sup>3</sup> at Hollingbury Hill and elsewhere near Brighton,<sup>4</sup> at Karn Bre and Mawgan,<sup>5</sup> and another unspecified locality in Cornwall, and at Bath.<sup>6</sup>

Of the coins discovered near the town, the earliest seem to be some uninscribed British gold coins, weighing about 94 grains, and now deposited in the British Museum. This type of coin was a very degenerate imitation of the *stater* of Philip of Macedon, in all probability derived from Gaulish sources, and bearing little or no resemblance to the original prototype. Other coins of this type have been found at Horne in Surrey, Basingstoke in Hampshire, Pool in Dorsetshire, near Goodwood in Sussex, and again at Karn Bre, Cornwall, in 1749.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *Bronze Implements*, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. v, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, vol. ii, p. 268.

<sup>5</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xvii, p. 337.

<sup>6</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

<sup>7</sup> Evans, *Ancient British Coins*, p. 61.

The whole of the evidence, then, of any pre-Roman occupation of the site is of a very slender character. No discoveries from the site of the town itself appear to have been recorded, which can be assigned to a pre-Roman date. Hardly more satisfactory is the evidence of a Roman origin: a few fragments of terra sigillata, some glass beads, about twenty coins—two of Constantine the Great—and, as far as can be ascertained, no pavements, masonry, etc. On the whole, the foundation of the present town may, with all reserve, be attributed to the Romano-British period. Of a Romano-British settlement no undoubted trace remains, and though the earthen ramparts have been attributed to this epoch, the evidence is so scanty as to be practically worthless. The ramparts have been so altered, destroyed, strengthened, and restored at various periods, that it is only by cutting a few sections through both rampart and fosse that any definite conclusion can be arrived at. This would be a most desirable piece of work, and it is to be hoped that some day it will be undertaken and the mystery solved once for all.

Situated as Wareham is, at the confluence of the Rivers Frome and Pydel, which protect it on its southern and northern sides, it must in former days, before the haven became silted up, have been a town of no slight importance: the site is in fact one which would specially commend itself to a maritime nation. The general shape of the space enclosed by the ramparts is a rough square of 1800 ft. on the west side, and 1960 ft. on the north; then the wall inclines slightly in a south-easterly direction for 415 ft., and to the eastward the rampart measured 1600 ft. On the south—the side bounded by the River Frome—there is now no rampart, and the length on this side, taken in a straight line from the termination of the east wall to the south-west angle, is 1700 ft.<sup>1</sup>

Starting at the south-west corner of the site, a deep fosse runs in a northerly direction to the West Gate, from whence a strong rampart formed an additional line of defence. In this south-west corner of the town there

<sup>1</sup> Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, 3rd Edition, vol. i, p. 94.



still remains the mound of a Norman mount and court fort, thrown up after the Conquest. It is probable that this fort was never anything but an earthwork, and it is interesting to note the fashion in which two roads roughly form arcs of concentric circles at this point, the space between them being no doubt the site of the rampart and the bailey of the fort. As far as can be ascertained, no trace of masonry has ever been discovered which can be positively asserted to have formed any part of this enclosure. It does not seem to have occurred to previous writers that the true explanation of this mound was so exceedingly simple, and a good deal of misconception has arisen in consequence.

The earthworks forming the western defences of the town are almost straight in their course until the River Pydel is reached, when they turn to the right and follow the line of the river in an easterly direction. Inside the rampart at the north-east corner of the town is a small rectangular earthwork, about 150 ft. from east to west and 35 ft. from north to south. Its character is very uncertain, and it cannot be considered a defensive work of any kind. In any event it does not appear to have been constructed with any regard to the ramparts enclosing the town: it might be argued that the curious bend in the rampart at this point was purposely constructed in order that this enclosure might be preserved, but an examination of the ground tends to confirm the idea that the enclosure must be dated later than the town ramparts.<sup>1</sup>

On the west and on the north the rampart measures about 50 ft. on the exterior slope and about 35 ft. on the interior, while to the east the dimensions are about 20 ft. on the outer and 10 ft. on the inner slope. Along the eastern side of the town, on the outside of the ditch, is a small rampart, probably constructed to keep the water of the ditch within bounds: no trace of such a rampart is to be seen to the west, but from the situation it seems

<sup>1</sup> This enclosure does not appear in the plan attached to the survey of the Borgeage tenements (*circa* 1746): it is, however, shown in the plan of the Town in Hutchins, and is called the Bowling green. It may be concluded that it was constructed between 1746 and 1775.



probable that the ditches both to the east and to the west were filled with water.

The town of Wareham having thus been dealt with in relation to the remains now existing and the objects that have from time to time been discovered and recorded, it is desirable to examine such evidence as is contained in the Chronicles. After the fight in A.D. 784, in which Cyneheard slew Cynewulf, and was himself slain with eighty-four of his followers, the kingdom of the West Saxons passed to Beorhtric, who died after a reign of sixteen years and was buried at Wareham in A.D. 800.<sup>1</sup> It may reasonably enough be argued from this circumstance that prior to the year A.D. 800 there was at Wareham some sort of a religious house. Whatever the nature of this establishment may have been, there is no evidence of any kind that it was founded at any specific date, nor can it be ascribed to the piety or munificence of any individual. It is true that a foundation here has been attributed to Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne,<sup>2</sup> but this attribution will not bear the slightest scrutiny. In the first place there are two ecclesiastical buildings, which may undoubtedly be assigned to Aldhelm, the situations of which have led to a not wholly unpardonable mistake. The first of these was a monastery founded at Frome in Somersetshire,<sup>3</sup> near the River Frome, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Of this monastery Aldhelm himself seems to have been Abbot,<sup>4</sup> and the building was standing when William of Malmesbury wrote the *Gesta Pontificum*. Furthermore, this particular foundation was granted certain privileges by Pope Sergius I about the year A.D. 701,<sup>5</sup> and there is no mention of a Dorset-

<sup>1</sup> *Anglo Saxon Chronicle, Monumenta Historica*, pp. 336 and 340.

<sup>2</sup> Warne, *Ancient Dorset*, p. 261. Hatchins, *History of Dorset*, 3rd Edition, vol. i, p. 94, et seqq.

<sup>3</sup> *Willelmi Malmesburiensis Monachi Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*. Rolls Series, p. 346. "Fecit et aliud cenobium juxta fluvium qui vocatur From, sicut in privilegio quod Sergius papa utrique monasterio contulit legitur. Stat ibi adhuc et vicit diuturnitate sua tot sæcula ecclesiam ab eo in honorem sancti Johannis Baptistæ constructa."

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of the Association*, vol. xxviii, p. 166.

<sup>5</sup> Bull of Sergius I, *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 367, "quod etiam nunc Meldunesbury vocatur, situm in provincia Saxonie, atque aliud monasterium, quod in honore sancti Johannis Baptistæ est in eadem provincia positum juxta fluvium qui vocatur From."

shire foundation at all, the reason for this being that it was just before setting out for Rome to obtain these privileges for his Monasteries that Aldhelm built the church in Dorset, which has to some extent been confused with this Somersetshire foundation.<sup>1</sup> The Dorsetshire church is clearly distinguished from the monastery of St. John the Baptist near the Frome, as the latter was standing during the early part of the twelfth century, while the church in Dorsetshire, if in existence at all, was a roofless ruin, to which miraculous powers were attributed, and furthermore its site is clearly specified as being in Dorsetshire, two miles from the sea, near Wareham, and in the Corfe Castle district.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the *Gesta Pontificum* justifies us in going further: the roofless church was at the date in question attributed to Aldhelm, and the tradition may well have been erroneous; the church that Aldhelm actually built cannot have been more than a small temporary structure, as it was put up while he was waiting for a favourable wind, in order to begin his journey to Rome, so that he might have a place to pray in while his companions were making the necessary arrangements for the voyage. There is no record of his rebuilding this church at a later date, and it is not likely that for a period of such uncertain duration he would erect a building of so substantial a character that the walls would remain standing four centuries later. A glance at the map will show that the words *ubi et*

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 364.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 364. "Communicato propterea cum rege Westsaxonum Ina et Ethelredo Mertiorum consilio, quorum et gaudebat amicitia et eminebat munificentia, illisque a sententia non discedentibus, Romanum callem ingressus est. Veruntamen, ut licentius necessaria componeret, in prædia sui juris apud Dorsatensem pagum abiit. Ibi, dum felicem auram operitur, ecclesiam fecit, in qua sotiis ad necessaria occupatis, ipse itum et redditum suum Deo commendaret. Ejus domus maceriæ adhuc superstites cælo patulæ tecto vacant, nisi quod quiddam super altare prominet, quod a feditate volucrum sacratum lapidem tueatur." He then relates the story of the miraculous protection of the roofless church from rain, and adds that the principal men of the province more than once tried to reroof the church but were unable to do so. The passage ends thus: "Locus est in Dorsatensi pago, ii milibus a mari disparatus, juxta Werham, ubi et Corf castellum pelago prominet."

*Corf' castellum pelago prominet* denote the district in which the church was situated, and not its actual site: Corfe Castle does not project into the sea, and the reference must be to the peninsula lying between Poole Harbour on the north and the Channel on the south, or (roughly speaking) the Isle of Purbeck. There is no mention whatever of any foundation by Aldhelm in Wareham itself, and in the absence of any evidence, it is to be presumed that he did not found any such church in the town as has been suggested.

No events of any particular importance appear to have occurred in or near the town during the next seventy-five years. Troublous times, however, were at hand, and in A.D. 876 a considerable army of raiders under Godrum, Oseytel, and Anwynd, after passing the previous year at Cambridge, made a descent on the country of the West Saxons, where they seized and occupied the fortified town of Wareham.<sup>1</sup> It is to be presumed that they sacked the Nunnery, and in accordance with their usual custom severely maltreated its occupants.<sup>2</sup> Hither they were followed by Alfred, and although there is no record of a battle here, the invaders must have been reduced to sore straits, as they not only delivered some of their principal leaders to Alfred as hostages, but also bound themselves by the most solemn oaths to maintain the peace and cease from raiding the surrounding country. They must indeed have been in a desperate plight, as they swore by the Holy ring—an oath which they had never given to any other nation. However, in spite of the hostages and the solemn pledges which they had given for their good behaviour, the mounted portion of the Pagan army left Wareham secretly by night, and made their way to Exeter,<sup>3</sup> where in the following year they were joined by the bulk of their comrades who had been left at Wareham.<sup>4</sup> The fleet, while attempting to sail westwards, was overtaken at sea by a violent storm, and one hundred and twenty vessels were wrecked at Swanage. Alfred pur-

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Chron., *Mon. Hist.*, p. 355.

<sup>2</sup> Asser, *Mon. Hist.*, p. 478.

<sup>3</sup> A. S. Chron., *Mon. Hist.*, p. 355.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 356.



sued them as far as Exeter and exacted fresh security for the performance of the obligations they had undertaken ; and as the number of hostages was fixed by Alfred himself, it is reasonable to infer that the Pagans were placed at a disadvantage, tactical or otherwise, though there is no record of a battle.

While from many points of view the doings of the Pagan invaders are worthy of attention, their chief importance arises from the mention by Asser of the Nunnery at Wareham,<sup>1</sup> and some light is thrown on the relative importance of the town at this period. The chief object of such raids was the acquisition of plunder, and it may safely be assumed that if Wareham had not at that time been reputed a wealthy town, the Pagans would not have troubled to attack and capture it.

At some date between the years A.D. 925 and A.D. 941 Athelstan seems to have granted the right of coining to the town of Wareham—a privilege also bestowed on Shaftesbury and Dorchester in the same county ; and Bridport was subsequently added to the list, probably in the eleventh century. To this king was due the first attempt to regulate the coinage, and in his reign a Council, held (it is supposed) at Grately near Andover, promulgated the series of laws which directed, *inter alia*, that there should be a standard monetary system throughout the kingdom, and that mints should be established only in towns, thus taking away from the Archbishops and some others their privileges in this respect. The penalties attaching to breaches of the regulations by the moneyers or mint-masters were remarkably severe.<sup>2</sup> Athelstan was thus the first to reduce to a standard the hitherto varied coinage of the kingdom and to create what was practically a royal monopoly in this respect, a system which had obvious advantages and was at the same time productive of considerable revenue.

<sup>1</sup> De Rebus Gestis Ælfridi, *Mon. Hist.*, p. 748.

<sup>2</sup> “Leges Athelstani. 14. De Monetariis. Statuimus ut una moneta sit per omnem Regis ditionem, et nemo monetam cudat extra portam. Et si monetarius reus fieret, manus ejus abscindatur, quacum reatum commisit, et affigatur fabriciæ monetariæ. Et si tunc accusatus sit, et ipse se purgare velit, tunc abeat ad cadens ferrum, et purgat manum ab illo cujus est accusatus quod fraudem hanc fecerit,” etc.



Fewer specimens of coins bearing the Wareham mint-marks have been found than of those bearing the marks of Shaftesbury, and though this may perhaps point to the fact that Shaftesbury was a more important place, the privilege of possessing a mint at all indicates that Wareham was at this date a town of considerable size and wealth.<sup>1</sup> Coins bearing the Wareham marks are known of the reigns of Athelstan, Eadgar, Ethelred II, Canute, Edward the Confessor, Harold II, William I, William II, and, last of all, Henry I. There do not seem to be any recorded of Eadmund, Eadred, Eadwig, Edward the Martyr, Harold I, or Hardicanute.<sup>2</sup> This list is, of course, merely tentative, as future discoveries may throw much light on the question, and there seems to be no reason why there should not be a continuous series of coins bearing the Wareham mark.

In the reign of Edward the Confessor there were two moneyers in Wareham, each of whom rendered one mark of silver to the King, and twenty shillings whenever the money was changed.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that although the only coin at this time was the silver penny, there were in existence denominations for certain sums, *e.g.*, the mark, which was a term of Danish origin, probably introduced into this country about the reign of Alfred, and employed to represent a sum of 160 pennies after the Conquest, before which date it had represented 100 pennies. The shilling (Saxon *scil* or *scilling*) was also "money of account," and variously represented either 4 or 5 silver pennies. William I, however, established the value of the Saxon shilling at 4 silver pennies, and introduced a Norman shilling or *solidus* of 12 pence silver. On this footing the moneyers of Wareham rendered 100 pennies to Edward the Confessor, and either 80 or 100 pennies when the money was changed. It must be borne in mind that the change in the type of the coin was purely at the pleasure of the sovereign, and Edward the Confessor is supposed to have introduced

<sup>1</sup> Warne, *Ancient Dorset*, pp. 282, *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Warne, *Ancient Dorset*, p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> *Domesday*, "Ibi erant ij monetarii, quisque reddebat j marcam argenti regi, et xx solidos, quando moneta vertebatur."

the practice, which was carried to great length by the early Anglo-Norman kings, of frequently altering the types of the coinage when in want of money.

The tragic murder of Edward the Martyr in the year A.D. 978, in the evening of the 15th of the Kalends of April, at the instigation of his step-mother Elfrida, at a place called Corfes-geat,<sup>1</sup> and his hurried burial in Wareham, are the next events of importance occurring in the history of the town. In the following year the King's body was disinterred and removed by Archbishop Dunstan and Ælfhere the Ealdorman to Shaftesbury, where it was reburied in a more fitting fashion. It has been said that the King's body was originally buried in a church which stood on the site of St. Mary's, Wareham, and the present vestry, originally a small chapel which seems to have been attached to the Priory, is called King Edward's Chapel. A stone coffin, placed near the font, is alleged to have been that which contained the King's remains; but, as there appears to be no evidence whatever to support this assumption, it may be disregarded. In all probability the coffin was removed to Shaftesbury when the King's body was reburied there by Dunstan. The only other undoubted pre-Conquest reference to the town occurs in relation to the death, in A.D. 982, of Wulfwin, an Abbess, presumably of the Wareham Nunnery.<sup>2</sup>

Prior to the year A.D. 1066 there were four Royal Boroughs in Dorsetshire, viz., Dorchester, Bridport, Shaftesbury, and Wareham, and of the four Wareham seems to have been the chief, if we judge by the number of houses it contained. Although a statement of the number of houses in the town, both before and after the Conquest, is of course interesting, it has no value in itself, and it is only by comparing the entries under the head of Wareham with those under the heads of other towns that some idea of the relative importance of the place can be obtained. For this purpose the other three Royal Boroughs in the same county have been selected. This

<sup>1</sup> A.-S. Chron., *Mon. Hist.*, p. 398; Florence of Worcester, *Mon. Hist.*, p. 579.

<sup>2</sup> A.-S. Chron., *Mon. Hist.*, p. 399.

method shows at a glance the relative importance of Wareham during a definite epoch, and may perhaps help to eradicate the idea, which appears to be prevalent, that as soon as the *Domesday* extract has been made in relation to any town, all responsibility and interest ceases.

Town.	TRE GELD. HID.	Number of Houses. TRE.	Number of Houses destroyed between 1066 and 1084.	Houses remaining in 1086.	Number of Moneyers. TRE.	Annual Crown Rent of Moneyers.	Fine on Change of Coinage.
Wareham ...	10	285	150	135	2	1 mark	20s.
Dorchester ...	10	172	100	88	2	do.	do.
Bridport	5	120	20	100	1	do.	do.
Shaftesbury ...	20	257	80	177	3	do.	do.

There is only one point in the Wareham record that requires any special notice here, and that is in relation to the number of houses in that part of the town belonging to the Barons. In the time of King Edward there were in the quarter of the Barons 80 houses, of which 60, or 75 per cent., appear to have been destroyed by the date of the Survey. In the King's demesne the percentage destroyed or fallen into decay within the same period was 51; while in the division of St. Vandrille 45 houses remained out of 62 standing in the time of King Edward—i.e., 27.4 per cent. had been destroyed. From this it will be seen that there was an unduly high percentage of houses destroyed in the quarter of the Barons between the end of the reign of King Edward and A.D. 1084. It may, therefore, be concluded that the quarter of the Barons was in the south-west part of the town, and that the houses destroyed were pulled down to make room for the mount and court fort established there between the years A.D. 1066 and 1084.

It has been asserted again and again that a castle

existed in Wareham prior to the Norman Conquest, and furthermore that it was rebuilt by William the Conqueror. There is no foundation whatever for either of these statements: there is no evidence that a castle was in existence here prior to A.D. 1070-80, and furthermore the "Castle of Warham" mentioned in the *Domesday Survey* was not the Mount and Court Fort, the remains of which are still in existence in the south-west corner of the town. It is perfectly true that the term *castellum* was applied to the site, or a portion of the site, by Asser at an early date, but from the context it is quite clear that a fortified town is meant and not a castle, and furthermore the term applied to Wareham in the Saxon Chronicle denotes a fortress. In the Chronicle of Ethelwerd again the term used to describe the place is *oppidum*, and it is abundantly clear that a fortified town is intended. It is fairly certain that military works of the Mount and Court type, such as that of which this mound at Wareham formed a part, were introduced into this country by the Normans; indeed, it is no uncommon occurrence to find it recorded that houses in a particular quarter of a town were destroyed for the purpose of providing a site for a stronghold, the primary purpose of which was to hold the inhabitants in check. As far as can be ascertained, there never were any defensive works of masonry on this spot, and by the year A.D. 1461 the castle and ditch were clearly disused, as the site was let to John Heynes for forty-eight shillings, together with the fishery, the markets, and the fairs.<sup>1</sup>

Like many another town in England, Wareham played a not inconspicuous part in the civil wars of the reign of Stephen. During these troubles the town was first of all occupied by the Queen's party in A.D. 1137. In the following year, however, Stephen seems to have gained possession of the works,<sup>2</sup> but held them for only a very brief period, and towards the end of A.D. 1138. they were again assaulted and captured by Robert of Gloucester. Baldwin de Redvers landed here during the August of A.D. 1139,<sup>3</sup> and throwing his forces into

<sup>1</sup> Reeve's Accounts: Wareham, Edw. IV. Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> Ann. Waverley, II, 226.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Stephani*.



Corfe Castle, withstood a siege by Stephen. About three years later, in June, 1142, Robert of Gloucester, leaving his son William in command of the garrison, departed to seek reinforcements for the Queen's party from Geoffrey of Anjou.<sup>1</sup> During Robert's absence, Stephen gathered an army and descended upon Dorset; amongst other places he captured Wareham, and sacked and burnt the town.<sup>2</sup> In December of the same year Robert of Gloucester returned and recaptured the place,<sup>3</sup> and although in the following January Stephen was again in the vicinity and laid waste the surrounding district, he does not appear to have succeeded in his assault on Wareham, which had been strongly fortified by Robert during the interval.

King John seems to have landed at Wareham on his return from France in July, 1204, and again in 1213. Peter the Hermit, of Pomfret, after being imprisoned at Corfe Castle, was dragged through the streets of Wareham at a horse's tail, and finally hanged, together with his son, either at Wareham or Corfe. There is some doubt as to the actual place of execution, as the contemporary chroniclers do not agree on the point. Peter seems to have enjoyed some reputation as a prophet, and his offence was a prediction that John would be reigning on Ascension Day of the year 1213 and would then lose the crown. When, however, the momentous day passed in seeming security and apparently no untoward event had happened to the King, Peter suffered the usual fate of a false prophet, although in one sense he had been absolutely correct.<sup>4</sup>

John seems also to have been at Wareham in 1215, and again in July, 1216,<sup>5</sup> and at the former date a grant

<sup>1</sup> *William of Malmesbury*, p. 592.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 593.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 594-5.

<sup>4</sup> Peter's prophecy is said to have been one of the factors which brought about John's submission to the Pope, that submission being in itself a virtual fulfilment of the prediction. "Nondum intelligens," says the *Chronicon de Lanercost*, "se nomen regium et pristina dignitatis honorem, amisisse, sæpeditum Petrum simplicem crudeli morte interimi præcipit."

<sup>5</sup> Hardy's *Itinerary*.

was made to the Knights Templars under the hand of Richard de Mariscis, the King's Chancellor.<sup>1</sup>

In 1280 the town was declared a seaport, and it was at that time a liberty belonging to the Earl of Gloucester, with appurtenances and the right to levy toll on the arrival of ships. The Earl certified to a claim to a gallows, infangthef, pleas of withernam, bloodshed, hue, view of frankpledge, and pillory, together with a ducking stool, assize of bread and beer, a weekly Saturday market, and, finally, a fair on the Eve and Day of St. John the Baptist.<sup>2</sup>

On May 17th, 1297, Edward I was at Wareham, making preparations for his expedition to Flanders in order to assist Count Gui de Dampierre in repelling the projected attack of Philip IV of France upon that country.<sup>3</sup> The Account Rolls relating to this expedition are still extant and afford much interesting information as to the prices paid for provisions and transport work at that date.<sup>4</sup>

From the year 1302 Wareham seems to have sent representatives to Parliament, a long and honourable record, which throws considerable light on the importance of the town in mediæval times.<sup>5</sup> In 1316 Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of the Manor of Wareham, entered a plea in the King's Bench against several defendants, claiming that she was entitled to sundry customs and profits, viz., two pence as anchorage and keelage dues from all ships and boats plying to the town. The defendants appear to have hindered the collection of this revenue by force of arms, and a sum of £100 was claimed as compensation for loss of the profits so arising, together with a similar amount for injuries inflicted on the persons of the servants of the said Elizabeth while in the performance of their duties.<sup>6</sup> The dispute seems to have dragged on for a great many years, and it was not until 1343 that a Royal Commission

<sup>1</sup> *Deeds in Record Office*, vol. iv, Q. 6508.

<sup>2</sup> Patent Rolls: Chancery.

<sup>3</sup> Rymer's *Federa*.

<sup>4</sup> British Museum, *Add. MSS.*, 7965g, 88b.

<sup>5</sup> Hutchins, vol. i, p. 84.

<sup>6</sup> Coram Rege Roll. King's Bench.

was constituted to enquire into the merits of the case. Finally the claim of Lady Elizabeth was confirmed in the same year.

In 1347 Wareham furnished three ships and fifty-nine men for the expedition to Calais, and it is curious to note that Poole provided for the same purpose four ships and ninety-four men. From this it would appear that Poole was at least the equal of Wareham as a port, though possibly the extra number of men and ships may have been due to the fact that Poole appears rather to have been a piratical stronghold, while Wareham, owing to its more favourable situation, was distinctly a mercantile centre, as goods landed there could be more easily distributed throughout the surrounding country.

In 1348 the plague made its appearance in Dorset, apparently in the first instance at Melcombe Regis. It spread with fearful rapidity, and in Wareham alone seven priests died out of a total of seventy for the whole county of Dorset.<sup>1</sup> Poole suffered terribly, and fell into a state of great decay. Very little information is to be gleaned with regard to Wareham for a considerable number of years after this period : no doubt the recovery of the town from the ravages of the pestilence was an extremely slow process. The next appearance of this scourge was in 1361, and it appears to have been as deadly as on the previous occasion ; and when the ravages of the plague abated, various causes seem to have arisen to bring about the decay of the once thriving seaport.

At some date between the years 1426 and 1436 the Manor of Wareham appears to have been let to Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, together with the Manors of Cranborne, Pymperne, Tarent, Gunderville, Weymouth, Wike, Portland, Striple, and Crich, by William Alnewik, Bishop of Norwich, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and others, at a yearly rent of two thousand marks, the term being twenty years. The only copy of the lease in existence is an unfinished and canceled counterpart,<sup>2</sup> and it is difficult to say whether the transaction was ever carried through in the form and on the terms indicated.

<sup>1</sup> Diocesan Registers : Salisbury.

<sup>2</sup> *Harleian MSS.* 53, II. 17.



In 1461 came the grant of the castle and ditch to John Heynes which has already been mentioned, and in 1489 the rent for the same concessions was raised from forty-eight to sixty shillings. Forty-five shillings and a penny was charged in 1495 as rent of the Assize of the issue of the site of a castle with the ditch of the same, the walls of the town, the fishery, divers meadows, and the tolls of markets and fairs;<sup>1</sup> and in 1499 the rent thus accruing was paid to the Queen of Henry VII.

Catherine of Arragon demised the farm of the castle, with its ditches, the fishery, the demesne meadows, and the walls of the town, in 1509 to Francis Phillip for a term of twenty-one years, and in 1534 the rents arising from the premises had been transferred to Anne Boleyn. The manor and borough formed part of the jointure of Katherine Parr,<sup>2</sup> and as they seem also to have been held by Jane Seymour and Katherine Howard, it may be concluded that these revenues were at that time part of the provision for the reigning queen.

It is much to be regretted that although Leland was at Wareham, his description of the town, which he certainly wrote, has not been preserved.<sup>3</sup> It is a matter of importance to fix as nearly as possible the date at which Wareham ceased to be a port, as the prosperity of the town had largely depended on its maritime trade. In all probability Leland was at Wareham between the years 1538 and 1545, and he notes that the land about the town was more productive than that of the surrounding country. Further he says that the length of the town, as it was when he visited it, was from north to south; but whether this means that there was any evidence that it had ever been otherwise is hard to determine. There were at this time two bridges—one of six arches on the south, over the River Fraw or Frome; the other, at two “forow lengths” to the north, is described by Leland as a “great bridge of six arches.” The town within the walls had evidently fallen into a

<sup>1</sup> *Reeve's Accounts of Wareham*, 15 Hen. VII.

<sup>2</sup> Patent Roll, Chancery. 35 Hen. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> Leland's *Itinerary*. Ed. L. T. Smith (1907), pp. 253, *et seq.*



sad state of disrepair, and much of the ground had been laid out as garden plots for the cultivation of garlic.

There is no doubt that the decay of Wareham was due to the gradual silting up of the river, and it seems probable that this, together with the increase in the size of ships, led to the rebuilding of Poole. The latter town, after being destroyed by the French in 1406, had gradually recovered, and although as late as 1480 its site was mostly recovered with sedge and rushes, it is probable that from about that date its importance increased, as many buildings were erected and it was much resorted to as a port. Between 1483 and 1485, Richard III made a strenuous effort to revive the prosperity of Poole as a seaport, and began a town wall at one end of the quay; but his death in the latter year brought about a suspension of the plans he had formed for the expansion of the town. It is clear therefore that about the year 1480, owing to a variety of causes outside the control of its inhabitants, Wareham had in some degree fallen from its maritime supremacy, and by 1540 it had sunk to a comparatively unimportant position.

In 1560-1 the farms of the herbage of the walls called "the Castell Walles," and of the herbage of the walls called "the Toune Walles" were demised to the Bailiff of Wareham at rents of six shillings and eightpence and eight shillings respectively.<sup>1</sup> In 1584 the fishery with the "Castell Hill" and gardens, was assigned to Sir C. Hatton at an annual rental of £3 9s. 4d.<sup>2</sup> Ultimately the property was transferred to Sir John Bankes and another, by Lady Elizabeth Coke in 1631.<sup>3</sup> A dispute, however, arose with regard to the fishing rights, and finally it was decreed that these rights belonged solely to Sir John Bankes and not to the Mayor and inhabitants of Wareham.<sup>4</sup>

Upon the outbreak of the Civil War the town of Ware-

<sup>1</sup> *Reeve's Accounts of Wareham*, 2 and 3 Eliz.

<sup>2</sup> 29 Aug., 34 Eliz.

<sup>3</sup> 10 June, 7 Car. I.

<sup>4</sup> Memoranda Roll (Exchequer). Queen's Remembrancer. 14 Car. I.

ham was garrisoned by the Parliament in March, 1642.<sup>1</sup> Upon August 19th a sum of £10 was disbursed by the Committee for Dorset, and on September 2nd a further sum of £50, for the purpose of putting the town in a state of defence.<sup>2</sup>

Very shortly afterwards, the town fell into the hands of the Royalists, and as the sympathies of the townsfolk seem to have been with that party, no particular difficulty was for the time being experienced in holding the town. It was not indeed for nearly a year that any serious attempt appears to have been made by the Roundheads to obtain possession of Wareham, which, from its situation, was a position of no slight importance.

On November 25th, 1643, a force about two hundred strong was detached from the garrison of Poole for the purpose of making a night assault on Wareham, then strongly held by the Royalists. The storming party made their way by water to within a mile of the town,<sup>3</sup> and there encountered the first serious opposition. It is not quite clear what actually took place during the preliminary skirmishes: one account says that opposition was met with from musketeers concealed behind breastworks at a spot about a mile from the walls;<sup>4</sup> another records that the defenders laid ambuscades in the hedges between the landing-place and the town.<sup>5</sup> Both writers, however, are agreed that the works were entered at two points, and it seems not improbable that one party disembarked about a mile from Wareham and proceeded by land, while the main body continued their way by water and landed at the Quay.<sup>6</sup>

Captain Lay seems to have commanded the landing party. Taking every precaution to conceal the lighted matches of the musketeers from the observation of the enemy, he accurately timed the attack, and the two bodies entered the fortifications simultaneously. It does not appear that any attempt was made by the garrison to

<sup>1</sup> *Victoria County History of Dorset*, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Hutchins, vol. i, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Vicars, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> Vicars.

<sup>5</sup> Whitelocke, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> Vicars, p. 82.

defend the walls, as when Lay entered they were drawn up in the middle of the town, where, after receiving one good volley, they threw down their arms and fled.<sup>1</sup> The victors captured about two hundred prisoners, quantities of arms, ammunition, and warlike stores, cloth, cattle, sheep, and provisions.

It is not quite clear whether the Parliamentary forces held the town on this occasion, as it is distinctly implied that the storming party returned to Poole;<sup>2</sup> but it seems evident that Wareham was in their hands in the following January. On the 28th of that month the town was surprised and captured by Lord Hopton, owing, it is supposed, to the treachery of the Captain of the Watch,<sup>3</sup> one Captain Morton,<sup>4</sup> who seems to have admitted the Cavalier party. Not a few of the garrison were killed, including the Captain of the Watch aforesaid, and various outrages were perpetrated; but the statements with regard to the license of the Royalist soldiers must be received with extreme caution, especially as the inhabitants of Wareham seem to have been in sympathy with that cause.<sup>5</sup> Three hundred prisoners were taken by Lord Hopton, and with the fall of the town the Royalists gained command of the whole of Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, excepting only the seaport of Poole.<sup>6</sup> In all probability, reinforcements were promptly sent to Wareham, and every endeavour was made to secure the town against attack.<sup>7</sup> The news of the fall of a place of such importance seems to have taken a strangely long time to reach the ears of the Committee of both Kingdoms: on March 13th, though fears were entertained that both Poole and Wareham were in danger from the proximity of the King's forces, the capture of the latter place was not known, and it was not until about April 14th, more than six weeks after the event, that

<sup>1</sup> Whitelocke, p. 74; Vicars, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Whitelocke, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> Whitelocke, p. 82; *State Papers*, vol. ix, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Rushworth, vol. ii, Part 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Letters of A. A. Cooper*.

<sup>6</sup> *State Papers*, vol. ix, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.



a letter from the Governor of Poole by the hand of a Mr. Trenchard announced the news.<sup>1</sup>

The fortunes of the Parliamentary party being now at a low ebb in the county, it was not until about June 20th, 1644, that, after obtaining possession of Weymouth, they summoned Wareham to surrender; but as three clear days elapsed between the fall of Weymouth and the summons to Wareham, the Royalists had ample time to put the town in a state of defence, and the Roundheads suffered a slight loss of ten men killed or captured. This attempt on Wareham would undoubtedly have proved successful, had it been made immediately on the fall of Weymouth, but the Parliamentary cavalry was exhausted by hard work and unfit for duty without a few days' rest.<sup>2</sup>

As the place was thoroughly prepared and not likely to fall without a prolonged struggle, the Parliamentary forces seem to have retired to Weymouth, with the intention of surprising the garrison at the first favourable opportunity. The Royalists appear to have raided the surrounding country, and about July 15th, in the course of a more extensive foray than usual, they were surprised by a Parliamentary force under Colonel Sydenham, the Governor of Weymouth. The skirmish took place near Dorchester, and the Royalists, after losing about 160 men killed or wounded, retired on Wareham, closely pursued by the victorious Parliamentarians.<sup>3</sup> The necessity of maintaining their hold on Weymouth, coupled with the fact that Sir R. Hopton appeared with eight hundred horse to cover the retreat of the discomfited

<sup>1</sup> Rushworth (Part III, vol. ii), says that Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien (Lord Inchquin's brother) captured Wareham in April, 1644. This statement, however, is unsupported by any other evidence that is discoverable, and it seems clear that Lord Hopton captured the town late in January, 1644, and installed Lord Inchquin as Governor, and when the latter went to Munster later on, he left his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien, in the position of Deputy-Governor. It is not improbable that the explanation of the delay in informing the Parliamentary leaders of the fall of Wareham lies in the fact that Poole was the only town in Wiltshire and Dorsetshire in the hands of the Roundheads. This being the case, the town was in a somewhat isolated position and communication difficult.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers*, vol. lx, p. 270.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 350.



raiders, prevented the Roundheads from thoroughly following up their success, and for the moment Wareham was once more relieved from pressure.<sup>1</sup>

When Wareham fell into the hands of the Royalists in the early part of 1644, Lord Inchquin was made Governor, and the town was partly garrisoned by some of his Irish followers from Munster. Lord Inchquin, however, installed his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien, as Deputy-Governor, and proceeded to Ireland, where he expected to be made President of Munster; but being disappointed in this expectation, he seems to have entered into negotiations with the Parliamentary leaders, and to have forsaken the Royalist cause at some time after February, 1644. This change of sides appears to have been kept a close secret till the Parliamentary forces in Dorset were in a strong enough position to occupy those parts of the county which were to be surrendered to them. Accordingly, about the end of July or the beginning of August, 1644, Wareham was closely invested by a force of horse and foot about twelve hundred strong under Colonel Sydenham, with Sir A. A. Cooper as second in command. A fierce assault seems to have been delivered, and after a struggle the outworks were carried by the Roundheads: the garrison then sought a parley and endeavoured to obtain a truce till the following morning, but Colonel Sydenham had such confidence in his ability to storm the town that he granted a truce for an hour only. During that hour treachery and murder of the foulest kind ran riot. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien assembled the garrison and read a letter from Lord Inchquin, stating that he was resolved to stand firm for the Parliament, and desired the speedy surrender of the town. The bulk of the garrison were not averse to this course, and upon a fair agreement being arrived at,<sup>2</sup> the town was given up to Colonel Sydenham on August 10th, 1644. Only some few of the Irish troops

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers*, vol. lx, p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> Rushworth, Part III, vol. ii, p. 697. One of the Articles of Agreement is curious. It reads:—"That the Officers and Souldiers shall march away with their Colours flying, Drums beating, and *Bullet in Mouth*, and freely enjoy their Arms, Horses, Bagg, and Baggage."

were for standing firm, and on their refusal to surrender they were sent out of the way and massacred by the other soldiers, "in part requital of the Protestant blood which they and their barbarous and bloody bretheren had shed in Ireland."<sup>1</sup> The scene of the massacre was probably that part of the walls known as the "Bloody Bank," and usually considered to have been so called from the execution there of two of Monmouth's adherents; but as these appear to have been hanged, it is far more likely that the spot owes its name to the earlier tragedy.

Lieutenant-Colonel O'Brien, and some five hundred men of the garrison, took service under the Parliament, and were ultimately shipped to Munster, a proceeding which speaks volumes for the acuteness of perception of the Parliamentary authorities, as the murderers of the Irish at Wareham could expect no mercy if they fell into the hands of the enemy in Ireland. On August 12th the Committee of both Kingdoms wrote to the Governor of Weymouth, expressing the hope that Wareham was in the hands of the Parliament,<sup>2</sup> and the news of the fall of the town reached them on the following day. The Committee decided that the obligation of secrecy concerning the business at Wareham should be removed, and that the fall of the town and the articles of surrender should be reported to the Commons, with the recommendation that all conditions should be made good.<sup>3</sup> On August 14th, the Committee decided that it was inadvisable that the fortifications of the town should be destroyed, it being considered expedient to keep the town defensible until Corfe Castle was in the hands of the Parliament. Abundance of provisions and munitions of war were taken in the town, and were transported to Munster with the troops who had accepted the Covenant. The Committee of the Navy provided the transports, and the troops sailed from Portsmouth.<sup>4</sup>

Colonel Sydenham's force having been despatched westwards to join Colonel Middleton immediately after the

<sup>1</sup> Vicars, *Parliamentary Chronicle*, Part IV, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers*, vol. lx, p. 424.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 433, 460.

surrender,<sup>1</sup> Sir William Waller informed the Committee that he proposed to put men and ammunition into both Wareham and Poole in order to secure them.<sup>2</sup> On August 14th Waller was at Blandford, whence he seems to have gone direct to Poole.<sup>3</sup> He reached Wareham on the following day, and went on to Weymouth. On September 16th he was specially thanked for securing the seaport towns, particularly Wareham, the Committee considering this a most seasonable and acceptable service.<sup>4</sup> About September 21st, Waller garrisoned the town with between four and five hundred of his troops.

It is quite clear that about this date the defensive works of the town were considerably strengthened, and not improbably the ramparts, as they now exist, were completed. Evidently something more was done than to construct gun-emplacements, as in addition to the garrison and the inhabitants of the town, Waller gave orders that the people from the adjacent country should come in and help on the works. Progress, however, seems to have been slow, as Waller expressed a fear that should the Royalists advance that way, it would be impossible to finish the fortifications in time.<sup>5</sup> It seems to have been a moot point amongst the Parliamentary leaders whether Wareham should be held or not, and Sir A. A. Cooper urged the advisability of destroying the town, as the difficulties of victualling it appeared to be insuperable. He also expressed the opinion that if Sir William Waller ever drew his regiment away, the Royalists would certainly occupy Wareham, and he argued that as the town was extremely meanly built and the inhabitants almost all adherents of the Royal cause, there could be no valid objection to this course of action, especially as the holding of the town would certainly starve more honest men than the destruction would undo knaves. However, the general opinion seems to have been against the proposed demolition, and as an alternative it was suggested that it should be occupied as a horse quarter; but instructions

<sup>1</sup> Vicars, *Parl. Chron.*, Part IV, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers*, vol. lx, p. 501.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 505.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 523.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 510.



were given that if at any time it should become necessary to evacuate the district, Wareham was to be set on fire. This contingency, however, would seem never to have arisen.<sup>1</sup>

The Royalist party never appear to have regained possession of the town, and although in the early part of 1646 they raided part of Dorsetshire, and some disaffection was brought to the notice of the Parliament, no serious or lasting success was gained. Colonel Fitz James' regiment of horse was kept in the county for its better security, and for the reduction of Corfe Castle, in the siege of which a portion of the Wareham garrison played a part.<sup>2</sup> After this date the history of Wareham is somewhat uneventful, the only occurrence of any note being the almost total destruction of the town by fire in 1762.

At an early period of my investigations into the history of Wareham, I was struck with the fact that there seemed to be no plan of the town as it appeared before the fire of 1762 in existence. The accompanying drawing is, therefore, of extreme interest. It has been compiled from maps inserted in a manuscript book which contains a survey of the Burgage tenements in the town, and is dated 1746. Unfortunately, these maps are merely sketch plans, and do not seem to be accurately drawn to scale. It has, however, been possible to reconstruct a plan of the town as it then was, and although absolute accuracy is not claimed for this map, it has been set out, after a careful comparison of the various plans of the town made during the years succeeding the fire of 1762, and for all practical purposes it may be regarded as correct to within a few feet.

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NOTE.—I have much pleasure in acknowledging the kindness and courtesy of Mr. J. A. Drew in furnishing the particulars from which the Map has been compiled, and for the loan of photographs of objects discovered in the town. Also my thanks are due to Mr. J. B. Best for the loan of photographs of various objects found in the town, and information as to the dates of coins discovered.

<sup>1</sup> *Shaftesbury Papers*, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *State Papers (Domestic)*, vol. for 1645-46, p. 340.



## KEY TO PLAN OF WAREHAM, 1746.

## EXTENT OF PARISHES.

## HOLY TRINITY PARISH.

All the South-western Square of the town bounded on the north by West Street, and on the east by South Street, except plots numbered 7 to 16, which were included in St. Mary's Parish.

## ST. PETER'S PARISH.

Southern moiety of Square G, viz., plots numbered 1 to 12.  
The square or throng.  
Squares O, P, Q, R, S, T.

## ST. MICHAEL'S PARISH.

Squares A, B, C, D, E, F.

## ST. MARTIN'S PARISH.

Northern moiety of Square G, viz., plots numbered 1 to 6.  
Squares H, I, K, L, M, N.

## ST. MARY'S PARISH.

Squares U, V, W, X, Y, Z.  
Plots numbered 7 to 16 in South-western Square of town.

## CHURCHES.

St. Martin's, Square K.  
St. Peter's, Square P, plot 47.  
All Hallows Chapel, Square H.  
St. Michael's, Square C.  
St. John's, Square V.  
St. Mary's, Square Y.  
Holy Trinity, South-west Square.

NOTE.—Approximate sites are marked +.

## DESCRIPTION OF CHURCH LAND, ETC.

Holy Trinity Parsonage House, No. 20, South-west Square.  
Holy Trinity Parish Land, No. 32, South-west Square; and Nos. 71 and 76, Square Y.  
Holy Trinity Church Land, No. 90, Square L.

St. Mary's Parish Land, No. 87, Square F.

St. Mary's Parish House, No. 63, Square X.

St. Mary's Parish Fuel House, No. 64, Square X.

St. Mary's Parish Land, Parsonage House, No. 106, Square Z.

St. Martin's Parish Lands, Nos. 27 and 34, Square H.

St. Martin's Parish House, No. 45, Square I.

St. Martin's Rectory Garden, No. 53, Square K.

St. Martin's Church Lands, No. 77, Square L.

Glebe Lands and Gardens, Nos. 23 and 25, Square B; Nos. 42 and 51, Square C; No. 100, Square F; No. 42, Square I; No. 49, Square K; also No. 76, Square L; Nos. 27 and 34, Square O; No. 62, Square P; Nos. 66 and 69, Square Q; No. 99, Square S; and lastly, Nos. 104 and 113, Square T.

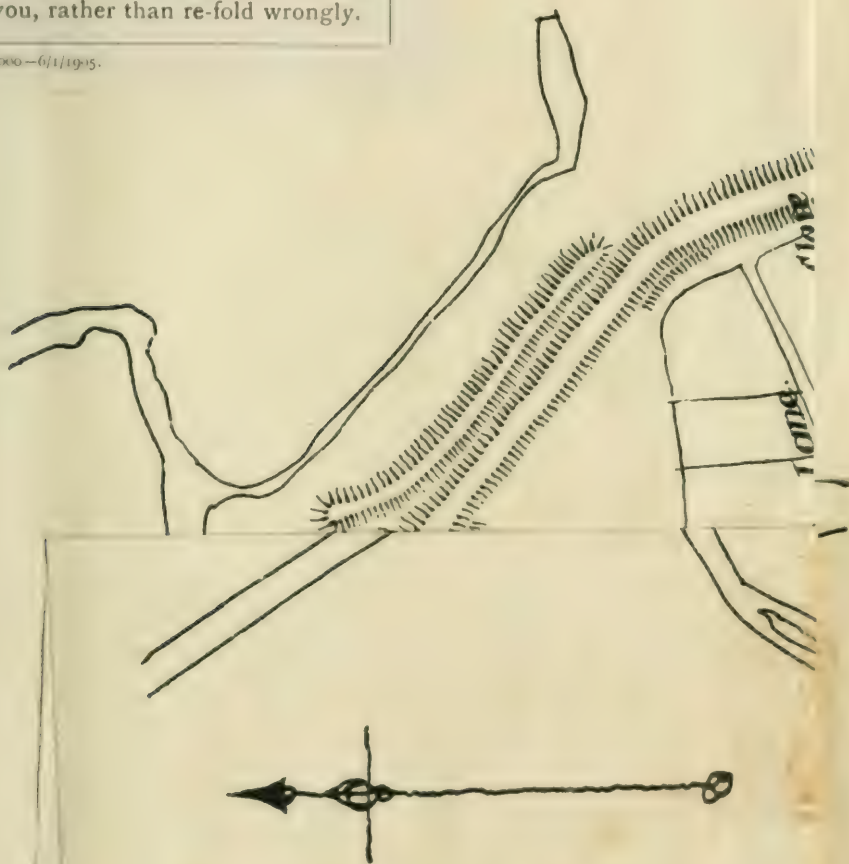


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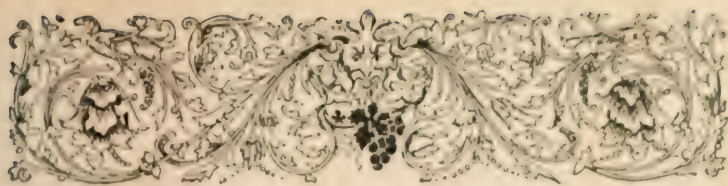
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## NOTES ON THE MUNICIPAL SEALS EXHIBITED AT THE WEYMOUTH CONGRESS.

By ANDREW OLIVER, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

(Read at the Weymouth Congress, 1907.)



THE Municipal Seals which were exhibited at the late Congress were of great interest. With but one exception, all those in authority, to whom application was made, readily responded to the appeal of the Council. A very fine selection was shown, by the courtesy of the

Council of the Architectural Association, from the Collection of Seals in the Architectural Museum, Westminster, and the Mayor and Corporation of Weymouth also lent the common seals of the borough.

As may be supposed, there appeared great variety in the design, the detail, and the execution, the best examples being the earliest, and the poorest those of the seventeenth century, and later periods. We can trace the period of their greatest beauty, and, in their gradual decay, the downfall of the art of seal cutting, which is almost a lost art as far as corporation seals are concerned.<sup>1</sup>

The seals, which are so important a feature in the insignia of a Corporation, are the sign and token of their existence. From the beginning of their corporate existence cities and towns have had a prescriptive right to have and use a common seal which they may break or change at pleasure.

<sup>1</sup> This is due, in a great measure, to the stamping presses, which are now used for the purpose of sealing documents.

“The actual permission to have and use a seal is not found in charters until a much later date than the incorporation of the more important towns.”<sup>1</sup>

#### CHARTERS OF INCORPORATION.

Charters were granted in various ways, according to the principle upon which the boroughs were held. The most important were those boroughs held direct from the King of “Ancient Demesne,” as Canterbury, York, Winchester, Nottingham, and other places. We often find the King granting the privileges of one city to another, as in the following instances:—

In 1199, Gloucester gave to the King 200 marks that it might have the liberties of Winchester, and the charter of Gloucester is in great part a transcript of that of Winchester, whilst Winchester is founded upon London.

In 1204, Derby offered 60 marks for a charter similar to Nottingham.

Bath. In the first year of Richard I a charter was granted, giving to the citizens the same freedom from toll as Winchester.

Bristol, 1172-1173. Grant by Henry II that his men of Bristol should have all the rights and privileges which the men of Bristol had in the City of Dublin.

In the reign of Henry III the charter of Winchester was renewed and a common seal granted, and in the ninth year of King John the royal mint and exchange were established.

Richard I granted to Northampton the same rights as the citizens of London at any time had.

A second group was formed by the towns which belonged to a noble, as Morpeth, Berkeley, and Leicester, or were held by him as a special grant from the King, as Barnstaple and Liverpool.

In the case of charters granted by a noble or a baron, the case is different. Unlike boroughs held direct from the King, new franchises were extorted from weakness, rather than from good will. There were, indeed, in-

<sup>1</sup> Royal Arch. Inst. *Trans.*, II S., vol. xv. W. H. St. John Hope. Municipal Seals of England and Wales.

stances in which the growing poverty of the nobles opened an easy way for the emancipation of the town, since it was sometimes possible, under the pressure of poverty or bankruptcy, to convince the lord of a borough that the balance of profit lay on the side of freedom. He could find money surely and easily by leasing out rights of trade, collection of tolls, and other privileges. The matter of tolls was so important that towns on private estates were practically obliged to get a royal charter as well as a charter from their lord.<sup>1</sup>

A third group belonged to towns on ecclesiastical estates, whether they were the property of a bishop, like Lynn, which was under the Bishop of Norwich, and Wells under the Bishop of Wells, or whether they belonged to an abbey, as Reading or St. Albans.

#### INSCRIPTIONS.

The lettering of the inscription varies according to the date of their execution. Lombardic or Gothic letters will be found from 1180 to 1340; black-letter inscriptions from 1340 to 1500. After the year 1500 the inscriptions are in the Roman character: they are still to be found in Latin at this date, but a few have the inscription in English.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF SEALS.

Corporation Seals may be classified as follows:—

1. Architectural.
2. Ships.
3. Saints (either with or without architectural or other accessories).
4. Heraldic.
5. Canting or punning.

#### ARCHITECTURAL SEALS.

Exeter and Taunton possess seals similar in character and design, consisting of a building with high-pitched roof and towers on either side, with flags in the Exeter example and crosses in that of Taunton.

Exeter also shows the sun, moon, and a star at the

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 262, 263.

top of the seal, and a key on either side of the side towers. Taunton is without the first-named features, and shows two crosiers in place of the keys of Exeter.

The date of the seals is c. 1170.<sup>1</sup>

The legend of the Exeter seal,

SIGILLVM CIVITATIS EXONIE,

and that of Taunton,

SIGILLVM COMMVNE BVIRGI TANTONIE.

### BRISTOL.

This seal will be found illustrated in the *Journal* of the British Arch. Assoc., vol. xxi, p. 181, together with a paper on "The Municipal Seals of Bristol," by J. R. Planché, Esq.

The account given of the seal is as follows :—

"The device is a castle with four towers, the two largest of unequal height, having between them a great gate, the portals of which are closed." The highest tower is the keep of the castle. That on the other side of the gate is surmounted by the figure of a man blowing a trumpet, and may therefore be fairly designated the Warder's Tower. Legend,

SIGILLUM COMMUNE BURGENSEIUM BRISTOLLIE.

The obverse shows a figure in a tower beckoning to a man steering a boat, with the following legend,

SECRETI CLAVIS SUM PORTUS NAVITA NAVIS.  
PORTAM CUSTODIT PORTUM VIGIL INDICE PRODIT.

### YORK.

A double seal of silver of thirteenth century date, which is still in use. The obverse shows a square embattled tower, with lattices at the sides, enclosed by an embattled wall with three towers, with conical roofs ;

<sup>1</sup> Upon the back of the matrix of the Exeter seal is engraved—Will. Prvdm me dedit civitat. Exonie cuius anime propitiatur deus amen, and the handle is inscribed, Lucas me fecit. The William Prudum who gave the seal is almost certainly the same man who founded the hospital of St. Alexis at Corfe in 1170, and the date of the seal cannot be much later. *Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office, of England and Wales*, p. 136.







SEAL OF THE CITY OF ROCHESTER.

the two at the sides are surmounted by flags, and have lattices projecting from the battlements. Legend,

SIGILLUM CIVIUM EBORACI.

The reverse has a figure of St. Peter standing on a bracket, and holding two long keys in his right hand, and a triple-ended pennon in his left; an angel holding a candlestick is on either side. Legend,

+ S.BTI PETRI PRINCIPIS APOSTOLOR.

### ROCHESTER.

The obverse shows a portion of Rochester Castle, with a gateway and two towers on the right, with a raised portcullis in the archway, to guard the entrance, which is approached by a flight of steps. A figure blowing a horn stands upon one of the towers. The Royal lions of England are to be seen on an outwork which forms the entrance to the castle and is guarded by a portcullis; the main building is flanked by two towers in three stages, finished at the top with a battlement and brattish-ing. Legend,

SIGILLUM COMUNE CIVITATIS ROFENSIS.

The lower portion consists of the outer wall with low square towers at the angles, from which arches are thrown, connecting them with the walls. The river Medway is shown at the bottom of the seal.

The reverse shows the figure of St. Andrew, stretched upon the Cross, and two men pulling at ropes by which the saint is secured. Legend,

SIGILL. OFF. MAIORATUS CIVITAT. ROFFEN.

### NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.

The seal of Newcastle-under-Lyme shows a building enclosed by a wall with a river at the foot; at the top of the keep, which is battlemented, are placed two men-at-arms, one with a battle-axe and the other blowing a horn; on the wall of the keep three shields bearing the arms of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, the Royal lions of England, and the three Garbs of Chester.

The lower portion of the building is in three parts.

In the centre gateway, in the pediment, a trefoil ; on the left side a smaller doorway, with three narrow-pointed arches in the pediment, and on the right a single-pointed arch, and two slightly-projecting towers on either side. Legend,

SIGILL : COMUNE : BURGENSEM : NOVI CASTELLI.

### WARWICK.

A castle with a shield bearing the arms of the Beauchamps on the keep. On either side, two towers with two figures blowing horns, and connected by a battlemented wall in which is an open doorway. In front a wall, also with a battlement ; a sun and star on either side, with a lesser star above and below. Legend,

SIGILLUM COMMUNITATIS WARWYCHIE.

### CANTERBURY.

The composition, which is very elaborate, consists of eight pointed arches cusped. The field is diapered. In the spandrils of the arches there are placed lions' figures, four turned towards the sinister and four to the dexter side. The castle in the centre shows a building with a central archway and one placed on either side, approached by steps. The upper part shows three towers with battlements in two stages, the lowest stage coming out of the main building. Beneath the castle is a shield of the arms of England. Legend,

ISTUD : EST . SIGILLUM . COMMUNE CIVITATIS CANTUARIE.

Upon the reverse there was originally the martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket, with the legend,

ICTIBVS : IMMENS[IS] : THOMAS : QVI : CORRUIT : ENS[IS] :  
TVTOR AB OFFENSIS : VRBIS : SIT : CANTVRIENS[IS].

But this was altered at a later date, as will be seen by the following account :—

“The whole of the scene of the martyrdom has been cut away and replaced by a poor shield of the city arms, to accommodate which the canopy has also been mutilated. The whole of the invocation of St. Thomas that formed the legend has been cut out, though some traces of it may be detected, and in its place appears



a roll moulding with transverse bands. In other respects, including the figures of kings in niches at the sides, and the bust of our Lord in base, the original seal remains unaltered. The following entry in the city accounts for 1541-2 gives the date and cost of the alteration :

Paid to William Oldfield, Belfounder, for puttyng out of Thomas Bekket in the comen seale, and gravynge agayn of the same. ij. s. viij. d.<sup>1</sup>

### SHREWSBURY.



City of Shrewsbury.

The following account, with a reproduction from the original plate, is taken from the *Journal* of the Association, vol. xxvi :—

“Of the fifteenth century we have a splendid example in the noble signet of the ancient borough of Shrewsbury. It measures three inches diameter, the whole field being occupied by a view of the town in bold relief. In the centre stands the abbey with its obelisk-like spire terminating in a cross which extends to the outer ring of the verge, and in the foreground is a portion of the embattled walls with three gates, each provided with a portecullis, and

<sup>1</sup> W. H. St. John Hope, *Proc. Soc. Ant., Municipal Seals.*

opening on bridges, beneath the arches of which roll the waters of the Severn. Above the middle gate is affixed a shield charged with three lions passant; on the wall of the dexter side is a second bearing a cross with a sprig in each quarter; and a third on the sinister side displays the arms of the town—*azure*, three leopards' heads *or*. On the verge is the legend,

SIGILLV COMVNE LIBERTATIS VILLE SALOPESBVRIE FACTV  
ANO GRE M.CCCCXXV.

The *Salopesburie* is an interesting transitional form from the rough Saxon *Scrobbes Byrig* and *Sciropesberie* to the soft-sounding Shrewsbury of the present day. And the date on this seal will admit of no doubt nor quibble, for the legend distinctly notes that the year of grace 1425 was the period of its manufacture."

### CHESTER.

A walled enclosure with gate-house, and towers placed at intervals. The entrance is defended by a door with a wicket, and a portcullis. Above is a lion of England crowned, between two garbs. The legend is,

SIGILLUM COMUNE MAIORIS ET CIVIUM CIVITATIS CESTRIE.

It is a seventeenth-century copy of a fourteenth-century seal.

### COLCHESTER.

The following is a description of an impression of the common seal of the borough, attached to a deed of 1379.

*Obverse*.—On a diapered field a castle triple-towered, the doors of the gateway thrown half open and strengthened with ornamental hinges. Beneath, a river flowing under three arches, under each arch a luce naiant. Legend,

S . . . . BVRG (ensium ville C)OLCESTRENSIS.

*Reverse*.—Seated on a throne canopied by a three-foiled arch, the Empress Helena crowned. Both hands upraised: in dexter hand, the holy rood; in sinister, an object which may be a nail. Legend,

QVAM CRVX INSIGNIT HELENAM C(olcestria gig)NIT.

The restoration is conjectural.<sup>1</sup>

Another seal was substituted for the above, probably about the date of Edward IV's charter, which incorporated the town under the style of the Bailiffs and Commonalty

<sup>1</sup> Essex Archæological Society's *Transactions*.





COMMON SEAL OF THE BOROUGH OF COLCHESTER.  
Scale, full size.



of the Burgh of Colchester. The obverse represents the Empress enthroned under an elaborate perpendicular canopy of tabernacle work, at each side of which, under a similar but narrower canopy, is an angel holding a shield before him. The dexter coat is St. George's cross; the sinister, France modern and England quarterly. The cross, much larger than in the old seal, rests on the



Seal of Colchester.

ground, and is embraced by St. Helena. Beneath is a shield of the arms of Colchester: a cross raguly between two crowns in chief, and charged with another in base; a lion statant affronté on either side of this shield. The legend is

Sigillu : commune : balliuoru : t : communitatis : ville :  
domini : Regis : colcestric.

The reverse, instead of the simple castle of the former seal, presents a battlemented wall of *enceinte*, flanked by two lofty turrets with conical roofs, outside of which in the field stand two lions affrontés. The gateway, protected by two turrets, the pointed roofs of which rise a little above the battlements, is open, showing the



Seal of Colchester.

portcullis raised. A bridge, apparently of planks, crosses the water of the moat. A high building, the entrance to which is protected by a tower, square in form and with another portcullis showing in the gateway, together with smaller towers and edifices, fill the enclosing wall, the battlements of which appear behind the town, as in a sort of bird's-eye view. Legend,

Entravit : ibi in : quoddam : castellum : et mulier :  
 quedam : excepit : illum.<sup>1</sup>

The present seal is a reduced copy of the obverse described above.

#### SHIP SEALS.

The earliest seal showing a ship is that of Dunwich, which is in the form of a lozenge or diamond, and dates from a charter of King John, 1199. A shield bearing the arms of Courtenay is suspended from the rigging.

The Seal of Freshwater, Isle of Wight, shows the Cross of St. George and a Lion of England; Lyme Regis shows the arms of England, and also those of Castille and Leon and a pennant bearing the Cross of St. George.

On the left side, a representation of the Crucifixion, with the figures of the Blessed Virgin, and St. John, and on the right St. Michael spearing the dragon.

A ship with furled sails is on the obverse of the Portsmouth Seal, and upon the reverse the figures of the Blessed Virgin, with the figures of two bishops placed on either side beneath a triple canopy.

#### WEYMOUTH.

Two of the common seals of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis are ship seals, the earliest being of the time of Edward I. Upon the matrix three lugs. The counter-seal is now lost. The second seal belongs to the middle of the sixteenth century, and shows the arms of Castille and Leon on a shield.

#### SEALS OF THE CINQUE PORTS.

The Cinque Ports have existed as an association from a very early period; the earliest charter is one of Edward I, and this refers to the previous charters granted by the Kings of England from the time of Edward the Confessor. The five ports are Hastings, Romsey, Hythe, Dover, and Sandwich, and to these were added Winchelsea and Rye. Each of the above ports, with the exception of Hythe

<sup>1</sup> Essex Archaeological Society's *Transactions*.



and Winchelsea, has one or more ports or towns members of it, either corporate, *i.e.* incorporated by charter, or non-corporate. The names of the ports and the towns attached are—Hastings, Pevensey and Seaford; Romsey, Lydd; Sandwich, Deal and Fordwich; Dover, Folkestone and Faversham; Rye, Tenterden.

In the history of the Cinque Ports, we have the single illustration in England of an association of towns created and maintained for common interests . . . consisting of seven head ports with eight corporate and twenty-four non-corporate members all gathered under the rule of the Lord Warden. To the last they bore traces of foreign influences in the name of Jurats, by which they called their "portmen," and of Barons, which they gave their "freemen."<sup>1</sup>

### HASTINGS.

The common seal of Hastings bears the representation of a ship, with one sail set, running down another vessel. In the waves beneath the ships the head of a figure is to be seen. Two figures are on the ship; over the head of the steersman is a banner bearing the arms of England, and at the other end of the ship a banner with the arms of the Cinque Ports.<sup>2</sup> Per pale, dexter *gules*, three demi lions passant *or*; sinister *azure*, three demi ships *argent*; the inscription is,

SIGILLUM COMMUNE BARONUM DE HASTINGS.

The reverse shows a figure of St. Michael spearing the dragon, with the inscription,

DRACO CRUELIS TE VINCET VIS MICHAELIS.

<sup>1</sup> Green, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*.

<sup>2</sup> These were the arms of Hastings till the year of the Armada, and still are those of the Cinque Ports, the arms of Hastings being now distinguished from those of the other ports by having a whole lion in the centre, making them nearer to the Royal Arms, a distinction granted for some achievement in the reign of Elizabeth.

"In 5th Henry VII it was ordained that everie person who goeth into the navy of the Portis shall have a cote of white cotyn with a red crosse and the arms of the Portis underneath that is to say the halfe Lion and the halfe shippe."



## RYE.

The seal of Rye shows a ship of one mast, with a square sail ; there are two men on board ; one standing on the poop holds a banner charged with a cross in his left hand ; on the prow is the Cross of St. George. The inscription in black letter,

*Sigillum baronum de rya.*

Upon the reverse the front of a church, probably intended for St. Mary, Rye. In the centre, underneath a tower forming a canopy, the figure of the Blessed Virgin and Child standing on a bracket. Windows of the Perpendicular period forming nave and clerestory on either side ; the upper part is composed of a sun and moon and fourteen stars, and the lower part of the building is surrounded by a wall. The words of the salutation,

*Ave Maria gracia plena dñs tecum benedicta tu in mulieribus,*

form the inscription.<sup>1</sup>

## PEVENSEY.

The seal of Pevensey dates probably from the early part of the thirteenth century. It shows a ship, with a lofty poop and embattled forecastle ; from the latter a banner is flown ; the crew consists of eight men, one of whom is steering, ten men with horns, and five others ; above the yard a crescent and a star, and beneath it the royal arms of three lions. The legend is,

*SIG. BARONUM DOMINI REGIS ANGLIE DE PEVENES.*

Upon the reverse two ships with torn sails, and on one a figure of St. Nicholas, the patron of mariners and the parish church.<sup>2</sup> The inscription is,

*SCE NICOLAI, DUC NOS SPONTE TRAHE PEV.*

## WINCHELSEA.

The obverse of the Winchelsea seal is a copy of that of Pevensey. The inscription is similar, "Winchelse" being

<sup>1</sup> *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. i, pp. 14-25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

substituted for Pevensey. The reverse is a modern copy of the original, now lost. It consists of a central tower with a man bearing a lantern, and a banner charged with three chevronels behind, and a banner with the lions of England in front of him. At the base, three or four buildings and below them the waves of the sea. The opening at the foot of the tower contains three figures : the two on the left represent St. Giles caressing the hind, and those on the right the martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket. The representations of St. Giles and St. Thomas refer to the principal churches of Winchelsea.<sup>1</sup> The inscription is curious,

EGIDIO THOME LAUDUM PLEBS. CANTICA P. ME NE SIT IN  
AGARIA GREX SUUS AMNE VIA.

### DOVER.

The following account, with a reproduction from the original Plate, is taken from the *Journal* of the Association, vol. xxvii, pp. 399-400 :—

“Though Dover was rather roughly treated by some of the Norman followers of William the Conqueror, the King himself seems to have taken the town and its people into special favour, and paid due respect to the old privileges they possessed. Those privileges were not only respected, but enlarged by our first Edward, in whose reign we hear of a mayor and corporation, and a seal for their special use, engraved in the year 1305.<sup>2</sup> This matrix is of brass, measuring about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in. in diameter, and produces an impression with an obverse and reverse like a medal. On the obverse is an antique vessel, the timbers of which have much the appearance of pointed brickwork. In the centre rises a mast crossed by a yard, to which the sail is reefed in seven festoons ; above this is a top-castle, and higher still floats a three-tailed pennon. The bow and stern of the ship are alike, each being provided with a little deck or fighting gallery, termed the *ballatorium*, or fore and stern castle ; and beneath these were the entrances to the cabins. The bowsprit projects between the battlements of the forecastle, and in it stand two men blowing long straight trumpets ; and in the stern-castle is fixed a banner charged with the arms of the port of Dover. In front of the latter *ballatorium* sits the steersman with his great paddle, which so long

<sup>1</sup> *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. i, pp. 14-25.

<sup>2</sup> *Boy's History of Sandwich*, ii, 797.



Seal of Dover.



Seal of Dover.

did duty for the rudder, which valuable appliance did not prevail until about the middle of the fourteenth century. Two figures are seated before the mast, apparently busied in hauling a rope ; and another, in a state of nudity, is climbing the shrouds in a fearless manner ; and it may be observed that it is no uncommon thing to find naked seamen introduced in early representations of shipping. On the verge of the seal is inscribed

SIGILLVM COMMVNE BARONVM DE DOVORIA  
(common seal of the barons of Dover).

The device on this face of the seal bears a strong likeness to that on the seal of the town of Winchelsea. The opposite side is, of course, altogether different. On it is represented the well-known story of St. Martin and the beggar, within a broad verge decorated with twelve lions passant gardant, each pair being *vis à vis*. The pagan soldier is exhibited on horseback, passing out of the Gothic portal of the city of Amiens, followed by a half-naked beggar leaning on a crutch ; the two holding a cloak between them, which the benevolent Martin is about to divide with the edge of his sword."<sup>1</sup>

#### HYTHE.

Hythe shows a single-masted vessel with two men furling the mainsail ; the forecastle and poop embattled ; the steersman sits aft and a man blowing a horn is forward. The inscription is,

SIGILLUM COMMUNE BARONUM DE HITHE.

#### SANDWICH.

Upon the obverse a single-masted vessel with furled mainsail. Two men on the yard-arms, and on the dexter side of the mast a crow's-nest ; at each end a raised deck. In the dexter one a small banner, and in the sinister two others. Under the latter tower sits the steersman. In front of the mast are two men, one bearing a banner charged with two mullets, the other holding a battleaxe. Amidships against the mast is a boat, and in front of the poop a boathook. Legend,

SIGILL CONSILII BARONUM DE SANDWICH.

<sup>1</sup> The stamp used by the Corporation on their envelopes is copied from this reverse, with the addition of the word DOVER above the gateway.



The reverse bears two trees, over all a lion passant gardant crowned. Legend,

QUI SERVARE GREDEM CELI SOLET INDICO REGEM.

### FAVERSHAM.

The seal is a fine double one of latten, *temp.* Edward I, circular,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter. The device, a ship of war with one mast, on the sea; two sailors sitting in the yard furling the mainsail, a mariner in the embattled crow's-nest, five soldiers with weapons, and a captain in the body of the vessels, two trumpeters in the embattled sterncastle, with a flag charged with three chevronels. In the embattled forecastle a flag with a Cross of St. George. In the upper part of the field a large *rose en soleil*. Legend,

+ SIGILUM BARONUM . . . DE . . . FAVERSHAM.

It has been suggested that the rose, the cognizance of the Tudors, was added on grant of Henry VIII's charter in 1546.

The ship represents that provided by Faversham for the King's service. *Or*, 3 chevronels *gules*, were the arms of Clare. In the reign of Henry III, Richard de Clare possessed  $12\frac{1}{2}$  knight's fees in Kent and  $304\frac{1}{2}$  in other counties.

Reverse, a shield in bold relief, with three lions of England, and on three sides of it a wyvern ending in foliage. Legend,

REGIS VT ARMA REGO LIBERA PORTUS EGO.

### SACRED SEALS.

These consist usually of representations of the saints connected with the town, as we have already mentioned in some of the counterseals described. In some cases we find single effigies. King's Lynn has St. John on the one side and St. Margaret on the other. Beverley shows St. John of Beverley, the patron saint. An important seal of this class is that of the City of London, in which we find the figure of St. Paul on the obverse and that of St. Thomas à Becket on the reverse. St. Paul is stand-



Seal of the City of London.



Seal of the City of London.

ing behind St. Paul's, his hand on a banner bearing the Royal Lions of England. In front the City walls with towers, and behind it various church spires may be seen.

In the year 1376 the heraldic bearing known as "mullet" was placed in the small gate underneath the figure of St. Paul, but for what reason it is impossible to say.<sup>1</sup>

The counterseal consisted, it will be seen, of St. Thomas à Becket with the crosier, and in full episcopal vestments, seated on a throne between two groups.

A view of the City spires and wall is at the foot. The following account of its destruction will be found in the Letter-Book of the City of London, under date 28th September, 1539 :—

"And for asmuche as the coēn Seale of this Cytie ys made wth the Image of Thomas Bekett late Arche bysshop of Canterburye and all suche Images ought by the Kynge hyghnes pclamation to be altered chaūged and abolysshed wth all his domynyons. Wherefore now it is enacted [and] establysshed that the said Coēn Seale shalbe altered and chaūged and the armes of this Cytie to be made in the place of the seid Thomas bekett on the one syde and on the other syde the Image of saint Powle as hath bein accustomed. And all wrytyngē hereafter to be ensealed wth the newe coēn Seale shalbe good & effectuell in the lawe any use custome or usage to the contrary herof notwithstanding. And all other wrytyngē afore this tyme ensealed wth the said old coēn seale shall remayne in as full strength & vertue as thei were at any tyme afore the making of this Acte.

"In compliance with this order the beautiful counterseal, after being in use for over three centuries, was broken up, and its silver probably used to make a new matrix. This, which is still in use, along with the still more venerable obverse, bears for device simply the city arms with helm, mantling, and crest, and the legend :

. LONDINI . DEFENDE . TVOS . DEVS . OPTIME . CIVES."

### HERALDIC SEALS.

Many seals bear the Royal Arms or Royal Badge, as Blandford, which has the Royal Lions differenced by a label of three points, and with a feather on either side.

*Walsall*.—The arms of France and England quarterly, with two lions "addorsed" as supporters.

*Bridport*.—The arms of the borough are, *gules*, a castellated port or gateway, with flanking turrets, masoned and battlemented *arg.* : in the open port three spinning

<sup>1</sup> W. H. St. John Hope, *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, Municipal Seals.



cogs or hooks in pale; in chief a lion passant guardant crowned, between two fleurs-de-lys, *or*; in base barry wavy *arg.* and *az.* These arms were allowed and confirmed in the year 1623.

*Lancaster*.—A triple-towered castle and a lion at the base.

*At Preston, Lancashire*.—In 1376 there was a seal in existence which showed the lamb as statant regardant, bearing on the breast on a shield, *gules*, the three lions of England, while over the upper lion on the shield was a label of three points for the Duchy of Lancaster.<sup>1</sup>

*Wallingford*.—An unique example. It bears an equestrian figure of the King in full armour, with a shield of France modern and England quarterly; sword in right hand and wearing a helm with a royal crest, a lion statant crowned and cap of maintenance.

The legend, in black letter, is

SIGILLUM COMUNE DE WALLINGFORD.

The Badges of the Houses of Lancaster and York are on the seals of Southampton and Ludlow. They are described as follows:—

*Southampton*.—Per fess *argent* and *gules*, three roses counterchanged, have been borne since its incorporation by Henry VI in 1445, which accounts for the red roses of the House of Lancaster.

*Ludlow*.—*Azure*, a lion couchant between three roses *argent*, which show it to be composed of the white roses of the House of York and the white lion of the House of March.

A second class of heraldic seals is taken from family arms, as the Cornish choughs of Canterbury from the Becket family arms.

*Maidstone*.—*Or*, a fess wavy *azure*, between three torteaux; on a chief *gules*, a lion of England. The blue wavy fess refers to the Medway and the torteaux to Archbishop Courtenay.

*Newark*.—The arms and crest of Manners, Duke of Rutland.

<sup>1</sup> Note supplied by the Town Clerk of Preston,



## CANTING SEALS.



Seal of Appleby.



Seal of Appleby.

*Appleby.*—Here we find a shield bearing the lions of England placed upon an apple tree. Upon the reverse is St. Lawrence on a gridiron.<sup>1</sup> Wells has water flowing

<sup>1</sup> *Corporation Insignia of England and Wales.*

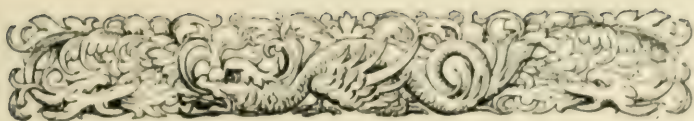
from under a tree; Hartlepool, a hart and pool; Derby, a deer; Arundel, a swallow, a corruption of Hironnelle.

A very curious seal is that of Lichfield, which shows a battlefield with weapons and corpses.<sup>1</sup>

The author expresses his thanks to Messrs. Bemrose and Co. for permission to use the blocks of the City of London and the City of Rochester; to the Essex Archæological Society for the loan of the blocks of the Colchester Seal; and to the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Society for the loan of the blocks of the Seal of Appleby. For general information on the subject reference has been made to *The Corporation Insignia of England and Wales*, edited by W. H. St. John Hope, Esq., and published by Messrs. Bemrose and Co.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xxxi, p. 311.





## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 15TH, 1908.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

THREE papers on the subject of the origin and purpose of Deneholes were read and discussed. The first, by Mr. T. V. Holmes, who was unfortunately prevented from attending the meeting, contained a restatement of the views which the writer has so ably expressed elsewhere, and maintained that Deneholes were subterranean storehouses and places of refuge in times of piratical incursions. In the second paper Mr. J. G. N. Clift criticised this theory, and put forward a series of calculations to show that the storage capacity of the Deneholes at Hangman's Wood, near Grays, was sufficient to meet the needs of a far larger population than could have existed in the neighbourhood in early times: he also demonstrated that the cost in time and labour of digging shafts through the Thanet sand must have been comparatively trivial, and contended that the only explanation which fitted all the facts was that Deneholes were excavated solely for the purpose of obtaining chalk. In the third paper Mr. R. H. Forster dealt with the objections which have been brought against this explanation: the concentration of the pits was characteristic of a comparatively early stage of the development of mining; with regard to the possibility of obtaining surface chalk within a mile of Hangman's Wood, he pointed out that, apart from the fact that such chalk was regarded as of less value, its transport up a steep hill would entail more labour than was needed to mine it close to the spot where it was to be used, and also that the theory involved the assumption that the Deneholes were made at a period when the land where surface chalk occurred was unenclosed and ownerless. He further maintained that the evidence adduced was quite insufficient to prove any intentional concealment of the pits, and that the refuge-place theory accordingly fell to the ground.

An interesting discussion followed, in the course of which Dr.

Walter de Gray Birch doubted the possibility of the shafts having been sunk and the chalk excavated by ordinary labourers. Mr. Miller Christy, President of the Essex Field Club, admitted that Mr. Clift's figures rendered the theory of underground storehouses untenable, but entirely disagreed with Mr. Forster's views, and maintained that the Hangman's Wood pits showed signs of careful separation. Mr. T. E. Forster said that the great height of these workings seemed more than necessary for storage purposes, and would lead to increased danger in the event of any chalk dropping from the roof. As a Mining Engineer, he agreed with Mr. Clift that the Thanet sand could probably be easily sunk through at a low cost. With regard to the holings between the pits, he thought it not improbable that they were made for the purpose of ventilation.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19TH, 1908.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

Mrs. Collier read a paper on "John Halle, Merchant and Mayor of Salisbury in the Fifteenth Century," giving an account of his life and a description of the hall which formed part of the house he erected in that city. This, though of smaller dimensions, was somewhat similar to the hall of Crosby Hall; but though it is still standing, it has been subjected to so many alterations and renewals that very little of the original work remains.

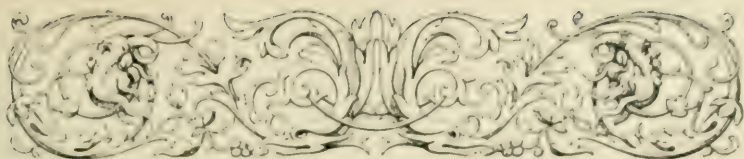
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18TH, 1908.

CHARLES E. KEYSER, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, IN  
THE CHAIR.

Mr. Keyser read a paper on "Norman Doorways in Norfolk," illustrated by an interesting series of lantern slides and a fine collection of photographic enlargements. The county is rich in examples of this characteristic feature of Norman work, many beautiful specimens being found in small country churches, as well as in larger edifices, such as Norwich Cathedral and Castleacre Priory.







## Archaeological Notes.

### THE ROMAN MILITARY STATION AT NEWSTEAD, MELROSE.

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. James Curle, of Melrose, we are able to give the following account of the excavations carried out on this site during 1907 :—

Work was begun in January by trenching the southern portion of the annexe to the south of the fort, and here twenty-two pits or wells were discovered and cleared. These, though not so productive as the pits found in the northern part of the same annexe,<sup>1</sup> contained a number of interesting objects, the most remarkable being a set of belt-mountings, formed of circular plates of brass, decorated with thin plates of silver embossed in the form of a rosette : with these were smaller plates and studs, which seem to have been used as belt ornaments. The same area produced some bronze pieces, apparently armour for the shoulders and elbows, a decorated "Samian" bowl with figures of gladiators in small medallions, and two cups of the same ware, as well as fragments bearing potters' marks, some black pottery, and other small objects. Most of the pottery found in this part of the site was of late date.

In March the work was transferred to the north-west quarter of the fort, which had been left untouched in 1905 ; but with the exception of a circular oven, no traces of buildings were found north of the road leading to the west gate. To the south of this road, however, the foundations of a wall crossing the fort from north to south, with a gateway flanked by towers, were disclosed, and it was clear that this wall had been erected for the purpose of reducing the size of the fort. The discovery is of great importance, as it establishes beyond doubt the fact that there have been four distinct periods of occupation.

The chief work of the year was the excavation of a large block of buildings in the annexe to the west of the fort, which had formed the baths. Unfortunately, little but foundations remained, but it was possible to trace the four phases of occupation, viz :—(1) a small bath-

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal*, vol. xii, N.S., p. 287.

house, lying on a concrete foundation, which may be attributed to the period of Agricola's advance; (2) a greatly enlarged building, with spacious halls extending to the west; (3) a reduction in the size of the whole, this extension being abandoned and the building cut in two by a ditch, while the part nearest the fort was surrounded by a defensive earthwork lying on a cobble foundation; (4) a period in which the ditch was again filled up: the traces of this period are much less definite than those of the other three.

The objects found in this part of the site were of particular interest and importance. The series of coins ranged from the Republican period down to Marcus Aurelius, those of Vespasian, Domitian, and Trajan predominating, as elsewhere. Several *fibulæ* were found, one being ornamented with blue and yellow enamel, and an engraved cornelian, with a figure of Helios, lay near the surface. The most important objects, however, came from a great pit, which appeared to have been used as a well during one of the earlier occupations. It was 20 ft. deep, and at the bottom lay three bronze camp kettles and a beautiful bronze oenochoë with a decorated handle; near the latter lay a rake. Slightly higher were a number of iron hub-rings, a stylus, a strigil, a bone cube belonging to a set of dice, an iron lamp, a bowl of coarse earthenware, a fragment of a charred oak beam, a human skull, the visor mask of a helmet, a short, heavy-bladed legionary sword, another sword, doubled up but with the greater part of its bone hilt remaining, and portions of two more swords. The visor mask, which was badly crushed, has been skilfully restored, and it will be seen from the illustration that it is a remarkably fine specimen.

The ditch cutting the baths in two appeared to belong to a definite short period, and was cleared out, as well as the ditch immediately to the west of it, which appeared to be contemporary. The inner ditch must have been post-Hadrianic, as a coin of Hadrian was found at the bottom. A coin of Faustina the elder was found near the surface of the filling, and probably indicates the later limit of the period. The ditch produced a number of fragments of pottery with potters' names, some Caistor ware, which was not found in the ditch of the first occupation, and several types of dishes which probably belong to the Antonine period.

At a later time the clearing of the first occupation ditch along the west front of the fort was continued: the portion to the north of the west gate produced little, but the southern part showed signs of a long occupation, and amongst the finds were tent-pegs, pieces of leather, pockets, shoes, a writing-tablet of pine-wood, worked deer-horns, tools, knives, a pair of compasses, shears, a weaving comb, a brass to rque a



ROMAN FORT AT NEWSTEAD. VISOR MASK OF HIRNIT.





camp kettle, coins of the Republic, Vespasian, and Domitian, and a quantity of pottery, including some fine fragments of decorated bowls of about the end of the first century.

The work has already been of the utmost importance as throwing light on the history of the Roman conquest and occupation of Northern Britain. The first occupation ditch belongs to a comparatively short period at the end of the first century, but it is still uncertain whether the second occupation must be assigned to the Antonine period or placed earlier in the second century, and this may be determined by further clearing of the later ditch. There is still more work to be done in the areas adjoining the fort on the north and south, and though some indication has been obtained of the position of the bridge over the Tweed, here, again, further work is desirable. Perhaps the most promising venture of all would be a search for the cemetery, which probably adjoins the homeward road to the south of the fort. For all these purposes further funds are needed, and we trust that the appeal of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland will meet with such a response as will ensure the completion of the work.



## Notices of Books.

NOTES ON THE EARLIER HISTORY OF BARTON-ON-HUMBER. Volume II.

By ROBERT BROWN, Jun., F.S.A. London : Elliot Stock. 1908.

WE have received and perused with interest the second volume of Mr. Brown's valuable history of his native town of Barton-on-Humber. The first volume, which has already been noticed in the *Journal*, related the history of the town from Roman-British down to Norman times, A.D. 1154, and the present volume continues the history through the earlier Plantagenet and Edwardian periods to 1377. In the ecclesiastical progress of the town in Edwardian days, the completion of the two celebrated churches, St. Peter's and St. Mary's, occupies a foremost place, and the account is accompanied by a very nice series of photographic illustrations and plans.

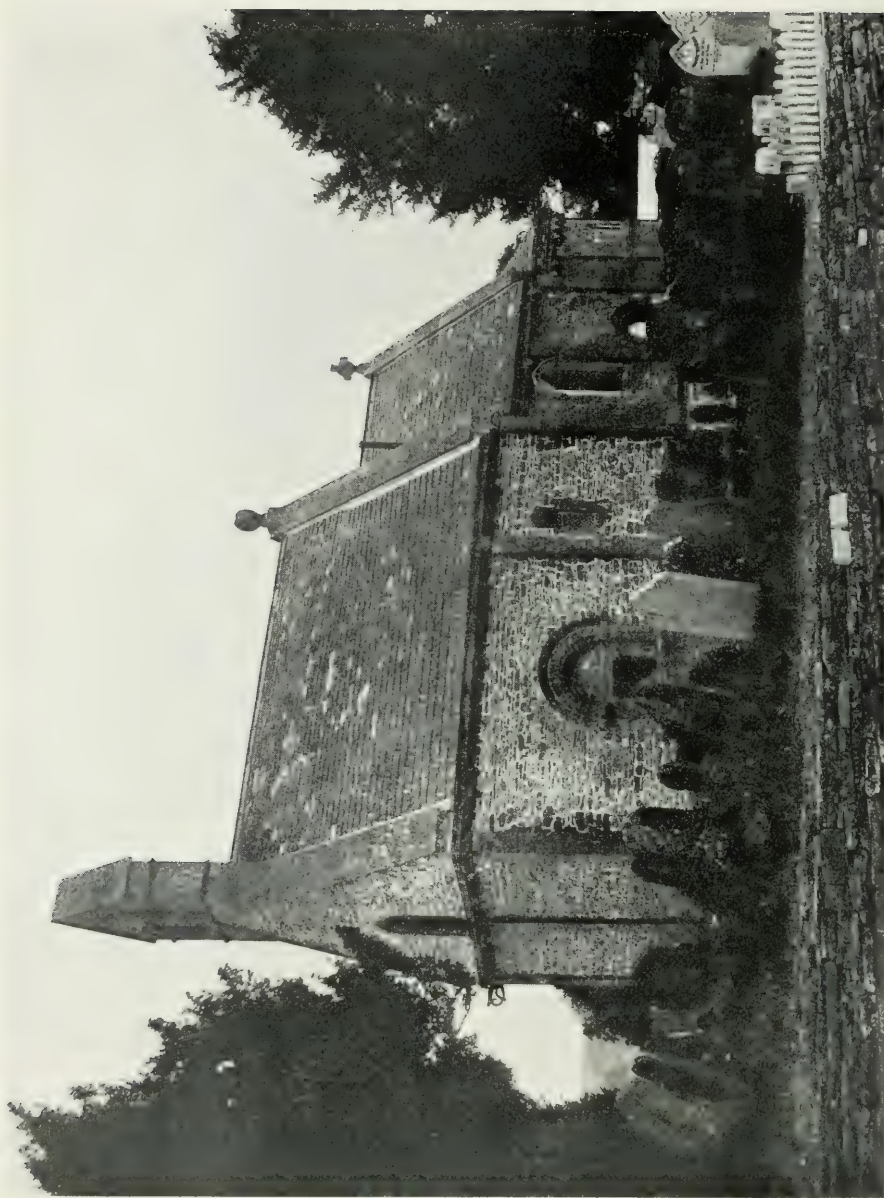
From the Charters of Bardney Abbey and other sources, the author has produced some interesting maps of the Lordship of Barton-on-Humber in the time of Henry III, in which he shows that many of the ancient streets and roads still exist and retain their old names. The main features of the neighbourhood remain now as then, and places described in the charters can without difficulty be identified at the present day. The author does not intend to suggest that the roads shown on the maps were the only ones existing in the days of Henry III ; there were doubtless other by-ways and paths, but they are not mentioned in the documents referred to. It is mainly the Bardney Charters, as illustrated and explained by old deeds of subsequent dates down to the time of the Enclosure Act, which have made it possible to reconstruct the Lordship of Barton as it was in the time of Henry III.

A considerable portion of the book is devoted to an account of the connection of the two great families of Gaunt and Beaumont with Barton-on-Humber, of which they were successively Lords of the Manor, and to whom much of the prosperity of the town was due, and an interesting section is that which speaks of the port and trade of Barton and the importance of the wool trade in the thirteenth century.

In several appendices useful information is given with regard to the Chantry Priests of St. Mary's, the Vicars of Barton-on-Humber subsequently to 1377, the Lords and Ladies of the Manor, and, not least in usefulness, a list of female names used in Lincolnshire in the thirteenth century.

We are glad to observe that the omission of an Index to the first volume has been rectified now by the provision of an ample general and detailed Index,





KILPECK CHURCH · FROM SOUTH WEST.





# THE JOURNAL

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### KILPECK AND ITS CHURCH.

BY CLAUDE S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq., M.A.

(Read April 8th, 1908).



THE Chipecce of Norman times is the Kilpeck of to-day, and it is difficult in imagination to connect the two. The bustling little township that lay on the Welsh border, about 8 miles south-west of Hereford, and boasted of castle, priory, and church, and doubtless played its

part in arresting the periodical incursions of the Welsh, is now the sequestered and peaceful village of but a few cottages. The church and two insignificant fragments of castle masonry alone remain as evidences of Norman occupation. All traces of the priory<sup>1</sup> have long since disappeared, but its site is pointed out as being a quarter of a mile south-east of the castle. The history of the place (as dating from 1066) is well authenticated. The Manor of Chipecce was given to one William FitzNorman by the Conqueror, and Domesday Book duly recorded "William FitzNorman holds Chipecce." He was succeeded by his son, Hugh, who in 1134 (as appears from

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by Leland (*Itin.*, viii, 60).

the Register of the Abbey of Gloucester) gave to the Monks of St. Peter at Gloucester the present Church of Kilpeck (dedicated to St. David), together with the Chapel of St. Mary in the castle, and all rights and possessions appertaining to them. It is very probable that this baron had built the church, but it is certain that his gifts were made subject to a condition (which was complied with a few years later) that a dependent priory or cell should be established at Kilpeck. Canon Bazley of Gloucester opines that the object of Hugh FitzNorman in making this decision was to have a civilising centre among his tenants and serfs, as well as a regular supply of chaplains for his churches (he had another at Dewchurch) and his castle chapel.<sup>1</sup> In 1422-1448 the priory was united to the Abbey of Gloucester, and on the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII its site was sold to Baldwin Treville, from whom it descended to the Booths and the Clives, and later still to Mr. Symons, the present Lord of the Manor. To trace the history of the castle—the home of several generations of the FitzNormans or the de Kilpecks (the name they assumed after Hugh's death)—and later the ruin-crowned property of their successors till vested in 1860 in the present owners—the Clive family—is not so clear. Nor do the present scanty remains in themselves warrant any great amount of research or investigation. They are to be seen on the summit of an elevated knoll close to and west of the church, and are evidently the relicts of a polygonal shell keep. The earthworks around, however, occupy an extensive area, and are eloquent proof of a considerable fortress having at one time existed here.<sup>2</sup> In or about the early 'eighties an interesting "find" was made on the castle site, viz., of an engraved copper-plate of the seventeenth century. This was purchased from a Kilpeck cottager in 1884 by Mr. H. W. Bruton, who was agreeably surprised to find that it was the work of William Faithorne, the well-known engraver

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Woolhope Club*, 1886-89, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Clarke's Mediæval Military Architecture*, vol. ii, p. 162.

of Charles I's time. The plate bore upon its surface, besides the engraver's name, the portrait of a young cavalier of the period, with his age given as being in his 24th year, and a coat-of-arms. No name appeared, but from the clues given the picture has, with some degree of certainty, been identified as that of Edward Monington of Sarnesfield in Herefordshire, born in 1622, one of two brothers who were among the King's adherents in the Civil War. On this war breaking out in 1642, it is well known that Faithorne espoused the cause of the King and accompanied him on his travels; and according to Canon Bazley it is highly probable that the engraver met young Monington at Raglan Castle, and engraved his portrait during his visits there with Charles I, between July 3 and September 15, 1645. The plate would be handed to the purchaser at once, and was no doubt lost during the siege and destruction of Kilpeck Castle in the latter part of the same year.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Bruton presented it in 1887 to the British Museum, where it is now to be seen.

But it is neither in the memory of its famous priory nor in the possession of its castle ruins that the chief pride of Kilpeck consists. The Church of St. David—the noble legacy of Hugh FitzNorman—is, as it were, the “set-piece” of the parish. Indeed, when its size and its uncommon design, its barely altered original appearance, and the richness and variety of its ornamentation (exterior and interior), and its interior treasures are taken into consideration, it is doubtful if another such splendid specimen of a twelfth-century parish church can be found to rival it in the United Kingdom. The edifice consists only of a nave, ante-chancel, and semi-circular apse, the whole measuring something under 70 ft. in length. Its similarity therefore to the Roman Basilica or Hall of Justice is at once apparent, and, as it is common knowledge that the early Christians adapted such Roman buildings for religious uses,<sup>2</sup> it follows that this church

<sup>1</sup> Gloucester Cathedral Society's *Transactions*, Part II. p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> That the Romans also constructed churches on the Basilica plan is evidenced by the foundations of the church discovered at Silchester.



(built in about 1100, and no doubt embellished later) was designed on the plan of an early Christian place of worship.<sup>1</sup> This arrangement of previous chancel and apsidal chancel combined, or of nave termination in an apse alone, is not too commonly found in Norman churches in this country,<sup>2</sup> despite the fact that the substitution of a square east end for an existing apse was not effected till some time after the Conquest; but the churches at Moccas, Peterchurch, and Pencombe (all in the same diocese), Newhaven (Sussex), St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield (modernised), Bengoe (Herts.), Lasingham (Yorks.), Warwick (Cumberland), and Dalmeny (Linlithgow), and one or two in Kent, occur to the memory in this connection. Also in the comparatively few Saxon churches, of which the eastern termination is assured, examples of a like nature are to be found.<sup>3</sup>

In our circuit of Kilpeck Church it is pleasing to notice how little tampering there has been with the original Norman work. A trefoil-headed Early English window and an Early English priest's door, in close conjunction to each other, are the only additions on the south side, while on the north side are two smaller Early English windows, one of them also having a trefoil head, and over the west end gable has been placed a modernised Norman bell turret of two arches. But in no sense can these additions be called inharmonious, and for the purpose of giving light (as will be seen later) the windows were obviously very necessary. A corbel table, which counts between seventy and eighty corbels (most of them in

<sup>1</sup> The plan is a considerable modification of the plan of a typical Roman basilica, in which the division of the main building by arcades of columns was just as characteristic a feature as the apse, but it is probable that the smaller churches of early Christian times were somewhat of this design. Perhaps it would be safer to say that Kilpeck Church was built on a plan evolved from the plan of a Roman basilica.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> On the Continent the type is universal enough. It may be roughly said that the apsidal termination is characteristic of French architecture and the square east end of English.

<sup>3</sup> *The Arts in Early England*.—G. Baldwin Brown.



well preserved condition), runs round the entire building, and is comprised of the usual miscellaneous medley of grotesque sculptures. It is interesting to espy amongst them, however, in two places, viz., over the south doorway and at the south-east end, that distinctive mark of Christianity, the Agnus Dei with the Cross of Salvation, though the south-east corbel certainly suggests a horse rather than a lamb, and may be symbolical of the Cross being swiftly carried to be planted in all parts of the world. In both cases the Cross is of the Maltese order—a type of ornament not unusual in Norman architecture. The flat Early Norman buttresses are noticeable, as are the three weird gargoyles projecting from the west end cornice. These resemble crocodile heads, with curved tongues protruding from the mouths, and it has been suggested that in these three forms the devil is represented being driven away from the Church. But the exterior gems of the church are unquestionably the west window and the south doorway. The rich uniformity of the one is in striking contrast with the rich variety of the other. The columns of the window, as well as the moulded arch they support, are elaborately sculptured with interlaced and beaded scroll-work, the capitals being represented by human heads harnessed with beaded bridles and bits. The ornament of this window (cf. Irish crosses and carved stones), together with the want of proportion betrayed in the design of the column and arch, are very characteristic of the Celtic School, as also are the complex carvings on the jambs of the south doorway. This doorway consists of a hood-mould and three recessed orders. The hood-mould, terminating on extensions of the abacus, is composed of a number of medallioned sculptures linked together by grotesque masques.<sup>1</sup> Many of these sculptures with their birds and fishes bear a striking resemblance to the signs of the Zodiac, but in their entirety they cannot be said to cor-

<sup>1</sup> In the beautiful full-size plaster cast of the doorway at the Crystal Palace the hood-mould terminates on monster heads just abutting on the abacus. There are indications in the original that this may have been so.

respond. Probably they are meant to be emblematical of created life. The outermost order is a singular adaptation of the beak-head. In the centre of it is to be observed the figure of an angel playing upon a harp, which may possibly be intended for a representation of the patron saint spiritualised by wings. The intermediate order is out-turned and graduated zigzag, and the innermost is of the double roll and hollow variety. Inset in this last and surmounting a horizontal dash of incised chevron above the lintel is the exquisitely neat and chaste tympanum. Its carving represents actually a vine with beaded stems, and symbolically the Tree of Life. There are about thirty other similarly illustrative tympana in England.<sup>1</sup> The abaci are enriched with the star ornament and chamfered. There are single shafts on each side supported by outer jambs, all being richly sculptured. The right shaft is adorned with a mass of foliage representing the Tree of Knowledge, while alongside it on the jamb a double form of serpent, linked into bewildering knots and coils, ascends to poison the fruit of the Tree, of which Adam (as represented on the capital) is in the act of partaking. On the left capital a dragon and lion are seen in combat, probably symbolical of a fight between Good and Evil. The dragon being overcome assumes the form of a serpent and descends (as seen on the jamb) in the same duplex and knotted and coiled form as before for further mischief-making upon earth. This, though shallow, appears to be the most plausible of the many solutions that have been advanced in explanation of this puzzling sculpture. On the left shaft are carved two quaint figures standing amid foliage, symbolical of Church and State. They are garbed in an extraordinary manner, wearing, as they seem to do, high dunce caps, thick knitted woollen jerseys, and "bloomer" trousers with knotted ropes around their waists. We wonder what costume is here portrayed. Perhaps that of an Anglo-Saxon civilian; but the carrying of the cruciform mace

<sup>1</sup> "Norman Tympana and Lintels in the Churches of Great Britain."  
By Charles E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A.



KILPECK CHURCH: SOUTH DOOR.





and sword tend rather to dispose of this idea. On the whole, it appears more likely that Welsh knights are intended. The Phrygian cap and rayed vest, as well as the trousers, would probably not be inconsistent with this theory.<sup>1</sup> And it should be remembered, too, that the parts of Herefordshire (including Kilpeck), which lay without Offa's Dyke, were regarded until the reign of Henry VIII as belonging to Wales.<sup>2</sup>

The inner jambs of the door are quite plain, and call for no comment. The whole doorway, which is in a remarkably fine state of preservation (partly due to the enduring quality of the imported stone of which it is built, and partly due to an outer porch of wood that for a long time covered it), forms perhaps one of the most richly stone-engraved framings of the truth, "I am the Door and the Way," to be found, for its size, in any part of the British Isles. Passing through it into the interior of the church, we are struck by several things. First, by the small dimensions; secondly, by the beautiful symmetry and proportions, notwithstanding,

"In small proportions we just beauties see."—*Ben Jonson*;

and thirdly, by the quondam inadequacy of the lighting. In the first connection, however, it must be remembered that the priory (unless this served, as some think, for the priory church) and the chapel in the castle were available for worship, and in the last that the Normans never set too much store on the wholesale lighting of their churches. In this case, indeed, two small windows obliquely placed opposite to each other alone lighted the nave, the west window being too high up for all practical purposes, and the ante or previous chancel had no window at all. This may have been purposely left unlighted as a set off, and so as to give better effect to the beauties of the apse, which enjoyed three lights.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, xxx, 62.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly sculptured figures are to be seen on the arches of the old Norman church at Shobdon that have been re-erected in such execrably bad taste in Lord Bateman's neighbouring park.

All the Norman windows are deeply splayed, as also in a lesser degree are the Early English insertions previously referred to. The first chancel arch is very impressive. The jambs which support it bear on them six rudely sculptured statues—three on each. The upper four are possibly intended for the Evangelists. Three are nursing gospels and crosses (the Maltese again); and St. Peter with his key, as well as his book, is clearly discernible. The lowest figures on each side are priests or holy men, and are so placed perhaps as to denote support of the gospel. They both carry either a palm branch, a scourge, or a holy water sprinkler (it is hard to distinguish which) in the right hand, and what looks like a book or cup in the left. All six divines, despite their holy offices, have the appearance of suffering from profound melancholia, and it requires an effort of will merely to reflect how such sculptures could have appealed to the imaginations or stirred the consciences of even the pre-Reformation worshipper here. The mouldings on the arch are of the ordinary Norman character, zig-zag, both out-turned and raised, figuring prominently, and the lozenge hardly less so. The abaci are ornamented with a curious fleur-de-lis design, and are continued in a string line to the north and south walls, showing perhaps that they were designed for the termination of the nave. The left capital reproduces the vine work of the tympanum, and that on the right is of the scalloped order. The apse arch is severely plain. On the jambs are hollow places for beams, evidently pointing to a screen (? rood) having been placed here in the past. The apse itself has an artistic and yet simple grandeur about it. Four slender pilasters support a broad-ribbed vaulting of zig-zag, which has a fine central boss composed of four fantastic heads in confused jumble, very similar to work (so the writer is informed) at Elkstone in Gloucestershire. The zig-zag arching of the three window splays is in happy harmony. In the angles formed by the meeting of the apse arch walls with the north and south walls are two doorless aumbries, and on the floor stands a curious relic of the past—possibly of pre-Norman make—in the shape of a detached holy water



KILPECK CHURCH: INTERIOR.





stoup. It is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. high, and a pair of arms and hands is clasped round it, supporting the bowl, while four serpent heads hang down on the base. But the carving is too scanty and ill-defined to give us any clue as to the actual age of the stoup. The original Norman font has been removed from the ante-chancel, where it long stood to the detriment of space (as shown on the Plate), to its more appropriate position near the south door. It is formed of a large cylindrical bowl made of conglomerate, which is supported by a large modern central shaft with four small Norman pillars around it. One similar in size and shape may be seen at Bredwardine Church in the same diocese. The great size of the front points to the old custom of total immersion of infants. On the north wall underneath the eighteenth-century oak gallery at the west end is suspended in an iron casing the upper portion of an ancient grave-slab. A cross in low relief is carved upon it; but nothing authentic is gleanable about the stone. In the custody of the Vicar (Rev. E. R. Firmstone), to whom the writer is indebted for much kindly assistance, are a silver chalice and paten, bearing date 1669, and the Register with initial entry of 1673. Disappointingly modern dates to the *laudator temporis* (xii c.) *acti*!

The church, of which sufficient has been said to show its archæological value, was well restored by Mr. L. N. Cottingham about sixty years ago, and renovations on a smaller scale have been made since. Those who accredit the Norman builders and masons with the art of ecclesiastical symbolism in the placing or engraving of every stone, and wish in pursuance of this study to make a more detailed examination of the Kilpeck structure, would do well to consult the monograph of Mr. G. R. Lewis on the subject, published in 1842. The work is as full of ingenious argument as it is of elaborate engravings; and some of the author's less fanciful theories have been incorporated in this paper. But to one practical matter at least does he call attention. He states that when he visited the church in 1818 he saw the remains of a good deal of fresco painting upon the walls and the sculptured

forms, despite the "unsightly coatings of white, buff, and grey wash" which then disfigured the interior. That these decorations have not been preserved must be a matter of very genuine regret to all lovers of ecclesiastical antiquities; and to the writer of this paper, at any rate, it is painful to strike even one small note of sorrow at the close of an inquiry which has been richly fraught for him with interest and inspiration.





## DENEHOLES, Etc.<sup>1</sup>

By T. V. HOLMES, F.G.S., F.R.ANTHROP. INST.

(Read January 15th, 1908.)



THE meaning of the word *denehole* has been decided by Dr. J. A. H. Murray to be *dunehole*. This interpretation implies that the existence of pits rightly termed *deneholes* is connected traditionally with the Danish piratical raids, accounts of which form so prominent a feature of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from A.D. 787 onward. And the position of the pits which best represent the *denehole* class, whether near the shores of the lower Thames or the coast of Durham, are just where secret storehouses would be most needed if the robbers chiefly feared were pirates. Of course the Danes are associated with these pits simply as the latest and most formidable of pirates, whose ravages were unchecked by any official such as the Count of the Saxon shore in the days of the Roman occupation. The name *denehole* consequently gives no presumption against a greater antiquity, in the case of many pits of this class, than that of the Danish raids. It is also obvious that only pits originally intended to be secret stores or hiding-places can rightly be classed as *deneholes*.

As regards the testimony of ancient writers on ancient pits, we have that of Diodorus Siculus that harvest with the Britons meant the cutting of the ears of corn and storing them in pits underground. On the other hand,

<sup>1</sup> We print this and the following papers in sequence, in order to afford the reader an opportunity of studying both sides of the controversy.—ED.

we have that of Pliny that deep pits were sunk in Britain for the extraction of chalk. Bell-pits for chalk and other rocks are found here and there bearing a superficial resemblance to the more primitive deneholes. We have thus to decide the question whether any given pits belong to the denehole or to the bell-pit class by careful examination in each case. In other words, were they made for the sake of the excavation, and its use for domestic purposes, or for the sake of the material extracted from them?

In considering this question, more progress would be made if the appeal were made to the evidence afforded by the geology and physical geography of a district, in the first place. Geology as a science is very modern, but the average farmer or peasant of five hundred or fifteen hundred years ago, when towns were few and small, was a much keener observer of the strata forming the surface than the average educated man now is. As a worker on the Geological Survey, I remember that, many years ago, some old workings along the outcrop of a coal seam in South Yorkshire were considered by a local antiquary of distinction to mark the site of an ancient British village. In this case the distribution of the workings, not the general appearance, was the decisive point. Similarly, the Pen Pits, near Stourhead, on the borders of Wiltshire and Somerset, have been claimed by writers of more or less learning and distinction, on the one hand as marking the site of an ancient British hill city; on the other, as being mines from which stone suitable for querns had been extracted. On visiting the Pen Pits, in the year 1885, it appeared to me that the positions of the pits told against the British city view. For they occupy part of a plateau not separated from the unoccupied portion by any rampart or ditch, and extend down the sides of the valleys just as far as a certain stone crops out and no further, though they appear much further down the hillside than the boundaries of a hill city would have done. And on the other side of the Stour valley pits were visible hillside on the horizon of this stone and nowhere else.

The pits known as Grimes Graves, near Brandon, on



the borders of Norfolk and Suffolk, are stated by Canon Greenwell (*Journ. Ethno. Soc.*, Jan., 1871) to be about two hundred and fifty-four in number and generally about 25 ft. apart. They are circular, vary in diameter from 20 ft. to 65 ft., and have all been filled up to within 4 ft. of the surface, the old pits having received the material brought up out of the newer ones. The depth of each pit was determined by the presence at a depth of 39 ft. of a stratum of flint much better suited for implements than those above. The flint forming the floor being removed, galleries were driven in various directions to enable the workmen to extract more flint. These galleries averaged about 3 ft. in height and 4 ft. to 7 ft. in width, and all the shafts were connected together by means of them. Similar shafts exist in the old British camp at Cissbury, near Worthing, in Sussex. Here, of course, the working of the flint band is decisive as to the purpose of the excavators.

Near Battle, in Sussex, I had the opportunity of seeing at an excursion of the Geologists' Association, in 1906, some examples of the "bell-pits" with which deneholes are so often confused. Building stone is very scarce in South-eastern England. Near Battle we saw a quarry where the stone desired was obtainable only close to the bottom, four-fifths of the material displayed being useless as road metal. Not far away the same stone was obtained by means of bell-pits, resembling a champagne bottle in shape, the material removed during the excavation of a new pit going to fill up an old one which had been developed as much as safety allowed. In the above circumstances it is evident that bell-pits might be preferable to open quarries.

As regards bell-pits for chalk, or chalk wells, as they are called where they are in use, an account of them by Mr. F. J. Bennett, formerly of the Geological Survey, is appended to the Report on the Denehole Exploration by the Essex Field Club, at Hangman's Wood, Grays, Essex (1887). Mr. Bennett remarks that the obtaining of chalk by means of chalk wells seems to be more modern than the use of open pits, "perhaps," he says, "only dating from the middle of the last century." Mr. Luke

Lowsley, of Hampstead Norris (Berkshire), tells him that chalk wells have only been known in that neighbourhood during the last sixty or seventy years. The depth of these chalk wells varies from 15 ft. to 40 ft., and chalking, he adds, is only resorted to where the chalk is covered by a sand, clay, or gravel soil. From the bottom of the shaft headings are driven in three or four directions from it, sloping up gently towards the surface from the bottom of the shaft, so that the chalk hewn may run down into the boxes under the shaft. And when all the chalk required has been extracted, arrangements are made for allowing the pit to fall in, forming a dell or hollow on the surface of the ground, the aim being to make it so even and shallow as not to interfere with the plough. And as regards the distribution of chalk wells, Mr. Bennett remarks that a certain regularity in their distribution arises from the fact that wells of equal depths dress a corresponding area of land, and that if a regular amount be taken from each well, their distances apart would tend to be regular as regards those on the same occupation.

In the year 1889 I had an opportunity of seeing the spots where some (then) recent subsidences had occurred south of Stifford and north of Grays, and about a mile and a half west of the Hangman's Wood deneholes. Mr. Frank, of "The Lodge," Stifford, was good enough to enable me to descend into one of them. We saw two openings in the ground, nearly cylindrical in shape, between 7 ft. and 8 ft. in diameter, and 9 ft. to 10 ft. apart. The sides of these shafts showed a section consisting of about 8 ft. of clay at the surface, then 4 ft. to 5 ft. of sand and gravel, and then chalk. The chalk had been worked in various directions, somewhat irregularly, and without any regard for permanent stability. And it seemed probable that one of the shaft-like openings was the original shaft, and that the other subsidence had occurred where the chalk roof had been left dangerously thin. The rubbish covering the bottom of the pit may have prevented us from seeing the full extent of the workings; but, judging from what we saw, they may have extended to a distance, here and there, of 20 ft. to

35 ft. from the shaft. The purpose of the excavators seems to have been simply the extraction of chalk. This pit may have been two or three centuries old. For a few yards westward there is a large chalk pit, which had not then been used for about thirty years; while another smaller chalk pit was visible a few yards east of north. The great chalk pits of Grays, which have been so much enlarged during the last twenty or thirty years, are nearer the Thames.

Before leaving pits for chalk and other material, it becomes necessary to notice the Chislehurst Caves, which have excited so much interest during the last four or five years, and have been claimed both as deneholes and chalk workings. My first visit to them was in 1902, when the Geologists' Association had an excursion to see the results of the widening of the South-Eastern Railway main line, and I was one of the directors. From the report of this excursion I quote the following remarks:—

“They consist of passages driven into the chalk, and connected by others ranging in directions nearly at right angles to the first. Their height varies from 7 ft. to 10 ft. or 11 ft., apparently with the height of the flint band or hard compact bed of chalk suitable for a roof. The reason for the adoption here of this method of excavating the chalk arises from the fact that the slight anticlinal fold which brings the chalk to the surface in the valley north of Chislehurst Railway Station allows it to appear only at the bottom. Consequently, an open pit for chalk would involve the removal of very large quantities of the overlying sand, clay, and gravel in order to obtain a comparatively small amount of chalk; and the reason for utilising the chalk here arose from the fact that the nearest exposures of chalk at the surface are about four miles away, at Lewisham northward and Orpington southward. While the system here does not necessitate the excavation of any material but that desired, it does not interfere in any way with the use of the land above the workings for other purposes. Near the entrance to these caverns may be seen the remains of some kilns. Nothing is known of their date.”

About two years later I had some correspondence with



Mr. T. E. Forster about these caves, and entirely agree with him in thinking that the so-called altar-tables are simply the remains of an intermediate stage in the excavation of the higher passages, and that their orientation is simply the result of excavating in an eastward direction. Mr. Forster's plan, too, of which he was good enough to send me a copy, shows that the plan of excavation is simple, and everywhere one and the same, the changes of direction in the passages (which suggest complexity to the casual visitor) being simply caused by the giving way, here and there, of the thin roof of chalk, resulting in the fall of a conical heap of the overlying Thanet Sand. This has necessarily caused the excavators to turn away from the spot at which the fall occurred. But the conical heap of sand implies simply a fall of the chalk roof and the overlying sand, and nothing more, and there are no signs whatever of the intersection anywhere of deneholes.

I now turn from the consideration of excavations made for the sake of the material extracted to those formed to obtain subterranean chambers for domestic purposes—from the bell-pit to the denehole class. Many pits exist here and there the affinities of which are more or less doubtful; consequently, I propose to confine my remarks to such pits of the denehole class as seem to me to afford the best evidence as to the purposes of their makers.

Before dealing with the deneholes of Kent and Essex, a few words on those of Durham seem desirable, as their existence in the northern county is usually ignored. Mr. R. O. Heslop, F.S.A., pointed out to me more than twenty years ago that an eminent northern antiquary, Mr. W. H. D. Longstaffe, had mentioned these Durham deneholes in his very interesting paper on "Durham before the Conquest," read at the Newcastle Meeting of the Archæological Institute in 1852. Mr. Longstaffe, after remarking that the name "Danes Hole" is applied to several hiding places in the county, and that it may perhaps have had its origin in the times of warfare between Saxon and Dane, from their use as places of retreat from the latter, states: "They are frequent in Hartness, where the struggle seems to have been most



bitter, and are described as excavations in the sides of eminences, in those sides from which the most extended views might be obtained." On the map accompanying Mr. Longstaffe's paper, the words appear "Excavated halls called Danes Holes," and they are marked as existing on the Magnesian Limestone of South Durham, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Embleton, six or seven miles west of Hartlepool. In short, their position as regards the mouth of the Tees seems to be in every way analogous to that of the Kent and Essex deneholes as regards the lower Thames. But the Durham deneholes do not appear to have vertical entrances.

On the lower Thames, in Kent and Essex the best examples of deneholes are to be seen at Hangman's Wood, near Grays, Essex, and in woods known as Stankey and Cavey Spring, at Bexley in Kent. At other spots, from the Isle of Thanet to, and beyond, Abbey Wood, they may be seen or heard of; but their concentration at the three places just named has caused those woods to be useless ground for all pastoral or agricultural purposes, and consequently the deneholes there have suffered only from the action of the weather during centuries of disuse; while others, scattered about here and there, have been filled in, and are known to have existed from being casually mentioned in Hasted's *History of Kent* or Morant's *Essex*.

In the year 1884 the Essex Field Club appointed a Committee for the Exploration of the Deneholes of Hangman's Wood, of which I was made chairman, and the management of the work was entrusted to Mr. W. Cole, Hon. Sec., Essex Field Club, and myself. We, with other members of the Committee, worked in the pits for a month in 1884, and a fortnight in 1887. The Report, drawn up by myself, was read on November 12th, 1887, and published a few weeks later, with Appendices, by Mr. E. T. Newton, on the Bones found; by Mr. F. W. Rudler, on the Fragment of Millstone found; by Mr. F. J. Bennett, on Chalk Wells; by Mr. H. B. Wood-

<sup>1</sup> It is by no means certain that these Durham "daneholes" are not natural fissures in the Magnesian Limestone. This does not imply that they were not used as places of refuge.—Ed.

ward, on some Pits near Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire ; and by Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell, on Ensilage, or Preserving Grain in Pits.

The surface of the ground at Hangman's Wood is composed of old river gravel and sand, formed when the Thames flowed at a higher level than it does now, and northward of its present channel. The thickness of this sand and gravel averaged about 12 ft. Below was about 46 ft. of Thanet Sand, and beneath that the chalk. The denehole chambers were in the chalk, the thickness of the chalk roof averaging from 3 ft. to 4 ft., and the height of the chambers, on the average, 17 ft. to 18 ft. Thus the total depth from the surface to the floor of the chambers was about 80 ft. Most of the pits have the positions of their shafts at the surface marked simply by a funnel-shaped hollow. But in five of them the shaft was still open. On descending them we found ourselves on the top of a conical heap of sand, etc., which had fallen down the shaft, through the action of the weather, during centuries of disuse.

I will first mention our surface work. We cut two trenches in the space between the shafts. One was about 25 yards long, the other 15 yards, each being about 2 ft. 6 ins. deep. We saw that when the shafts were sunk, the gravel, first removed, had been spread very evenly over the adjacent surface, and that the Thanet Sand beneath had been treated in like manner, so as to preserve the original flattened contour of the ground. No chalk was seen.

At the base of each shaft was a conical mound, spreading out so that the floor was nowhere without a certain thickness of *débris*. The floor, when this had been removed, was smooth.

The mounds at the base of three shafts were examined, and sections through them showed that they were similarly composed. The upper part of the mound consisted almost wholly of Thanet Sand, with occasional pebbles, the lower of gravel, with a slight admixture of sand. Nearer the floor, lumps of chalk became more or less numerous, and close to the shaft were great numbers of large flints, frequently more or less squared. There

can be little, if any, doubt that these large flints had been used for lining the part of the shaft sunk through the surface gravel. Probably much of the chalk had been used for the same purpose, courses of chalk having been found in the deep shaft at Eltham Park, described by Mr. Flinders Petrie (*Proc. Roy. Archaeol. Inst.*) in 1878. It was evident that as the lining of the uppermost part of the shaft gradually deteriorated and fell, the gravel followed till a funnel-shaped hollow was formed at the surface. The Thanet Sand had stood remarkably well, footholes in the sides of that part of the shaft being still visible, though much worn. I remember seeing a member of the Exploration Committee, Mr. Miller Christy, ascend several feet by their aid. It was noticeable in the Bexley deneholes that the enlargement at the mouth of the shaft was very slight where Thanet Sand, not gravel, formed the surface bed.

Each shaft leading to a separate set of chambers, we could not tell where the nearest chambers of an adjacent closed pit might be. Indeed, as the plan shows, the makers of the pits themselves had but little notion of direction when working underground. But they appear to have been allowed horizontal extension only up to a certain definite limit. In each case the chambers around a shaft were separated from those at the bottom of an adjacent shaft. Between pits Nos. 3 and 9 there was perfect separation between the adjoining chambers of each pit, though it was only a few inches thick at one spot. But since our exploration many mischievous persons have visited these pits, and now there is a large opening between them about 6 ft. in diameter. But where there was an opening at the time of our exploration (as between pits Nos. 5 and 6, the rounding-off of the chambers on both sides is obvious.

The plan shows a double trefoil plan as that generally prevailing, but a certain variation of shape and development that suggests the varying nature of family needs and requirements. At Hangman's Wood a greater lateral extension appears to have been allowed than among the equally concentrated deneholes of Stankey and Cavey Spring. With scattered pits much more irregularity



prevails. But at Stankey and Cavey Spring extra space has been sought by the removal of much of the chalk between the chambers, pillars of the chalk near the shaft being left, before they had attained the size of the pits at Hangman's Wood.

The chief excuse for confusing deneholes with chalk wells lies simply in the fact that chalk being the one comparatively hard rock near the lower Thames, where deneholes most abound, those which end in chalk are frequently more or less preserved, while those in material such as gravel, sand, and clay, which are shallow and have to be strengthened by timber and other supports, reveal their existence only when they suddenly collapse and suggest merely a disused gravel or rubbish pit.

In Palin's *More about Stifford*, the author remarks (p. 40): "We may add that a 'Danehole' partly filled up is to be found in the Stifford chalk quarry. But to show that chalk was not the object in making them, it may be mentioned that a series of them in Mucking Woods was filled up within the last few years, and these were in sand." And on the same page he notes that:—

"Mr. J. E. K. Cutts, in an interesting paper on Billericay, read to the Essex Archæological Society at its annual meeting at Chelmsford, 1871, says: 'Not far from this tumulus is an excavation like a gravel pit, which the labourer's father had told him was a denehole which had caved in.'" He (Mr. Cutts) dug down 3 ft., but found nothing but a few broken tiles.

The tiles were doubtless used to keep the denehole chamber approximately dry. But resting on timber supports, a sudden collapse would naturally reveal the tiles as the uppermost object of man's work to be discovered by digging. I may add that in Mucking Woods the top of the chalk is probably 150 ft. or more below the surface, and at Billericay over 500 ft. On p. 41 of Palin's *Stifford* is a remark by Mr. R. Meeson: "A curious feature of the district is the occurrence of the Dane-holes, as they are called by the country people," etc. In a case of this kind popular tradition appears to me to have a special importance. For if deneholes were secret subterranean storehouses, mainly to be found in districts



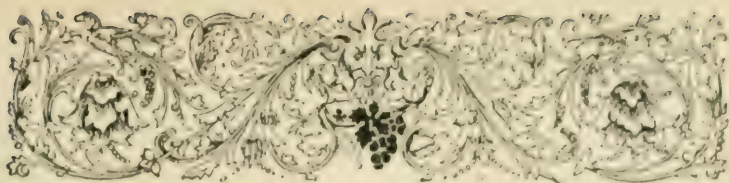
formerly specially exposed to piratical raids, then a tradition among the peasantry corroborating this view is of peculiar weight. For the matter is one of traditional folklore, and much more likely to be known to farmers and peasants whose families have for many generations been workers on the land of the district, than to any other persons. And when we read in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle how the Danes plundered Egbert's monastery on the Wear in A.D. 794, how they ravaged Sheppey in 832, sat down at Fulham in 879, were in great force at the mouth of the Thames in 893, and had towed their ships up the Thames and Lea in 895, etc., etc., we have no difficulty in understanding why the subterranean storehouses should be called *deneholes* near the lower Thames or the coast of Durham.

Mr. F. C. J. Spurrell in his paper on Deneholes printed in the *Archæological Journal*, 1882, has mentioned a large number of places in all parts of the world in which subterranean granaries are used. Much information is also given by him, in his paper appended to the Denehole Exploration Report, on this subject. The *Essex Naturalist* for 1888 contains "A Note on the Use of Pits in Brittany for the Storage of Grain," by Mr. Charles Browne. In England I have seen some in the Isle of Portland (Proc. Geol. Assoc., July, 1884). In "Miscellaneous Notes on Deneholes," read by me to the Essex Field Club on October 27, 1883, there is a mention of a discovery of some buried wheat in a pit near Lammas, in East Norfolk; and at Caistor, near Yarmouth, a pit was found built of Roman bricks and tiles, and considered to have been used for domestic purposes. In a Notice of the Barrier of Antoninus (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xv., 1858) there is a mention of stones for grinding wheat, and quantities of the grain itself, apparently charred, which were found in what had been a subterranean granary in one of the castella. Corn has also been found underground in the old British camps of Battlesbury and Winklebury; and though the great depth of the Hangman's Wood pits and the impossibility (without spending more money than was available) of clearing a chamber of *débris* without putting it in another, prevented us from clearing any considerable area of the floors of the pits, and con-

sequently of finding many remains throwing light on their origin and purpose, yet among the more important objects found was a fragment of Niedermendig lava, which had formed part of a millstone of a kind much imported by the Romans and found in most Roman stations in this country (see note by Mr. Rudler appended to the Report). Many bones were found and examined by Mr. E. T. Newton, but none tending to throw light on the antiquity of the pits.

In conclusion, I will only remark that the positions of the Hangman's Wood and the Stankey and Cavey Spring collections of deneholes are where no persons in their senses would *concentrate* their excavation for the sake of obtaining chalk. For in each case there is bare chalk within a mile. Of course, a single pit might be unusually deep from its special local convenience, etc. Nor would the shafts of pits for chalk-mining be so excessively close together as those of Hangman's Wood, and each pit be carefully separated from its neighbours. Nor would there be any care to preserve unaltered the natural contour of the ground, in the case of mere excavations for chalk.

On the other hand, if the purpose of the people living on the banks of the lower Thames was to secure their grain, etc., in secret stores a little inland, at spots to which their retreat could not easily be seen by piratical raiders, then the three collections of deneholes at Grays and Bexley are placed in positions as eligible as possible. Their concentration in a limited area would also render them less liable to detection by piratical raiders. Then, should any be discovered, their depth would be a distinct advantage, as their investigation by pirates would involve a descent much more difficult and dangerous than that of a shallow pit. Doubtless there are many isolated pits here and there as to which there is no conclusive evidence of their origin and purpose. But in the case of those concentrated at Stankey, Cavey Spring, and Hangman's Wood, their nature and position alike point to their advantages as deneholes and the absurdity of their positions if intended for chalk wells. They are, therefore, rightly called deneholes in the legitimate meaning of the word.



## NOTES ON THE HANGMAN'S WOOD DENEHOLES.

BY R. H. FORSTER, ESQ., M.A., LL.B., HON. TREASURER.

(Read January 15th, 1908.)



THE *Essex Naturalist* for April, 1907, contains some criticisms by Mr. T. V. Holmes on a paper which was printed in the *Journal* of the Association in 1904. In that paper an opinion was expressed that deneholes of the type found at Hangman's Wood were old chalk mines, and not grain pits or places of refuge, and this opinion is controverted by Mr. Holmes. It is necessary to examine the grounds on which his criticisms are based.

1. "The decisive point against their having been pits *for* chalk lies not in the details of their forms, but in the careful separation of each pit from its neighbour."

To this objection the most obvious answer is that in a number of instances this careful separation does not exist, as a glance at the plan will prove. Many of the pits are "holed through" into the adjacent workings, and on the assumption that these deneholes are chalk mines the fact is perfectly natural and comprehensible. The pits would be sunk not simultaneously but successively, and when the miner found that he had worked up to the edge of an abandoned pit, he would certainly cease to work in that direction. A small aperture would improve the ventilation, but to drive the end of the chamber forward at the full height into an adjoining pit would involve increased danger.



These connecting holes seem to occur at a height of about 6 ft. to 8 ft. from the floor of the working, as it was when finally abandoned, and this is quite consistent with the mining theory. If the chalk was to be excavated to a thickness of 18 ft., it must have been worked in at least three "canches" or layers, and the middle would be worked forward for a certain distance before the top or bottom. Accordingly, any holing through into an adjacent pit would be certain to occur at some point of the middle section. Mr. Holmes appears to believe that the rounded ends of the denehole chambers are "finished." This is not the case: in driving forward a passage with the pick alone, the swing of the pick would tend to keep the centre of the passage in advance of the sides, and the rounded end is the natural result of the method of mining employed. Mr. Holmes' theory that these holes may have originally been made by the scratchings of animals which had fallen down the shaft is quite impossible. The scratchings observed are in themselves somewhat suspicious. Can it be that the marks of rakes, with which the smaller fragments of chalk were collected, have been so described?

2. "In bell-pits, again, the material from a new pit in course of formation goes to fill up the nearest old pit."

Now this is precisely what seems to have occurred at Hangman's Wood. The mounds of gravel, Thanet Sand, etc., found in the pits examined, are too large to be accounted for otherwise.

3. But Mr. Holmes's chief point is what he describes as "the absurdity involved in the concentration of these pits—if for chalk—just where the excavators obtained the least return for their labour."

In the first place it is necessary to note that Mr. Holmes's arguments are based on the supposition that these pits are the work of primitive man, or at any rate are of pre-Roman origin. Of that there is absolutely no trustworthy evidence. The occurrence of a fragment of Celtic pottery in one of the mounds proves absolutely nothing:



such fragments occur frequently in the surface soil, and may quite well have been lying in the surface soil of Hangman's Wood when these pits were sunk. The form and height of the chambers certainly do not indicate a very early period, and among the bones discovered those characteristic of Roman and pre-Roman deposits are entirely lacking.

Let us take the question of concentration first. So far from being an absurdity, this is exactly consistent with mining practice at a comparatively early stage of the industry. In other parts of the country bell-pits have been sunk for ironstone, coal, and other substances as close to one another as are the deneholes of Hangman's Wood, and it is on record that such pits were used in Derbyshire for mining ironstone, even at a depth of 90 ft., up to the middle of the nineteenth century. In the mining laws of the Forest of Dean, dating from A.D. 1300, it was laid down that the area of one mine was to be such a space as a man could cover by throwing the material excavated from the shaft in every direction round the shaft mouth, and this was afterwards altered to a circle of 12 yds. radius from the shaft. Such a circle would give a total of nearly nine pits to the acre, or almost the exact equivalent of the more than fifty pits in six acres which Mr. Holmes considers an absurd concentration in the case of Hangman's Wood.

But this method of working is by no means absurd under the circumstances which must have existed when the pits were sunk. One of the chief problems of mining, even at the present day, is the transport of the material excavated from the working face to the shaft, and it was this problem of underground transport which produced the bell-pit system, and what may be called the improved bell-pit system which we find at Hangman's Wood. The laws of the Forest of Dean, already referred to, give a clue to the economic limit of mines of this type, viz., the length of pitch attainable with the shovel; and though the improved type found at Hangman's Wood may represent a double pitch, before the introduction of barrows underground (of the use of which there seems to be no trace in these deneholes), there must have come a

point beyond which working would be economically unprofitable as compared with the sinking of a new shaft, which, as Mr. Clift has shown, would not involve so great an expenditure of time or money as has been supposed. Furthermore, if the chalk was excavated for the purpose of chalking the adjacent lands, the actual work of excavation would be intermittent, and would be carried on only during a comparatively short period of the year, even if it occurred every year : during that period of the year when agricultural work was more or less at a standstill, the sinking of a fresh shaft would be carried out at a cost even smaller than the figure which Mr. Clift estimates.

Let us now take the question of chalk abounding on the surface within a mile. In the first place it is quite certain that for agricultural purposes surface chalk is much inferior to chalk obtained from some depth. It need not be deep-level chalk, *i.e.*, chalk from some depth below the top of the chalk-bed ; but what farmers, even at the present day, require for land that needs chalking, is chalk which has never been " near the day," *i.e.*, which is covered by a deposit of considerable thickness and has never been exposed to the atmosphere since that deposit was formed.

This fact alone is sufficient to account for the fact that the chalk was mined at Hangman's Wood rather than quarried elsewhere ; but even if we waive this point, no absurdity is introduced. No doubt surface chalk was obtainable within a mile, but at a level of something like 100 ft. below the general level of the land where it was wanted. It was economically preferable to sink shafts and raise the chalk to the high level by means of a windlass, rather than to bring it in carts up a tolerably steep hill, especially at a time when wheeled vehicles were neither common nor efficient and roads were generally exceedingly bad. For a short distance to the south of Hangman's Wood, and for a considerable distance to the east, west, and north is a broad and fairly level expanse of good agricultural land, lying about 100 ft. above the level where surface chalk is obtainable, and Hangman's Wood is an eminently suitable place for chalk

mines, if such were needed. To say that the wood has always been waste land because the deneholes were there is merely an assertion : the one definite *fact* is that it is waste land, and must always have been so : it is the fag end of two parishes, and the natural and (one might almost say) the inevitable place where chalk would be obtained, if chalk were needed for chalking the adjacent lands.

There are few more points to be noticed :

1. As to the even spreading of the material excavated from the shafts. Now, much, if not most, of this material has been thrown down the shafts of disused pits. The denudation round the edges of many of the shafts has been small, and in those cases where a large depression or "pot-hole" exists, a comparison with "pot-holes" occurring in known mining districts certainly suggests that the larger cavities on the surface at Hangman's Wood are due to a fall of the roof in the denehole below. Apart from this, the evidence of even spreading is unsatisfactory or contradicted by the state of the ground, the surface of which by no means exhibits an even contour but is covered with low heaps of sand and gravel. These are not very noticeable at first sight, as they are masked by the undergrowth of the present wood—in which, by the way, there is no tree of any great age—but if the wood were not in existence the irregularity of the ground would certainly attract the attention of anyone who caught sight of it.

2. This leads us to the question of the alleged secrecy or concealment of the pits, of which so much has been made by those who support the refuge-place theory of their origin. To put the matter briefly, there is no indication of anything of the sort : no phenomenon which would not have occurred in the ordinary course of mining for chalk, and the whole romance of trembling Saxons scuttling like rabbits into burrows to avoid the truculent Dane is a fairy story.

3. Mr. Holmes cites Camden, and appears to place some reliance on his authority, but he does not cite him correctly. In the earliest editions Camden refers to the existence of deneholes in the neighbourhood of Faversham

in Kent, and suggests that they may have been the chalk mines mentioned by Pliny. Nothing is said of any deneholes near Tilbury till the later editions, and then only on hearsay evidence, and the cut reproduced in the Essex Field Club's Report was drawn from information supplied by Camden's informant and not by Camden himself.

After a review of the evidence bearing on all these points, I submit that the charge of absurdity must be transferred from the chalk mine theory to other suppositions. With regard to the date of the Hangman's Wood deneholes, it is difficult at present to arrive at any conclusion, but there seems to be nothing in the evidence to militate against the view that they may be mediæval, or even seventeenth century, or both. The excavation of the seventy odd pits may have covered a very long period, and though the use of some deneholes may have been forgotten in Camden's time, others, unnoticed by him, may have been in use when the *Britannia* was written. Much confusion has been introduced by the assumption, which many writers seem to make, that all deneholes belong to the same period: the practice of chalking land has been carried on for many centuries, and the excavation of chalk for the purpose must cover an equally long period.







## A CRITICISM OF THE HANGMAN'S WOOD DENEHOLE REPORT.

By J. G. N. CLIFT, Esq.

*Read January 15th. 1908.*



It is a matter of no small difficulty to interpret the nebulous ideas which seem to have been floating in the minds of the authors of the Report of the Hangman's Wood Exploration Committee with regard to the age and purpose of these pits. It has been suggested that they were the gold mines of Cunobeline,<sup>1</sup> refuges from the piratical raiders during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries,<sup>2</sup> secret stores for grain during some indefinite epoch, and finally mediæval gold mines.<sup>3</sup>

It is quite clear that to whatever period the pits are to be attributed, they were, when first entered by the explorers, in their original condition, and that no serious enlargement or modification in their shape had taken place. This being the case, it is quite impossible to reconcile the statement that the pits were worked as gold mines in mediæval times with the hypothesis that they were in existence prior to that period. If they were worked as gold mines in mediæval times, they owe their present condition to that epoch and it is the very

<sup>1</sup> Report on the Denehole Exploration at Hangman's Wood, Grays, p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> Miscellaneous Denehole Notes, 1906; Essex Naturalist, vol. xv, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Report, p. 246.

wildest speculation to assume that pre-existing pits had been reworked, especially as the condition of their floors suggested to the authors of the Report prolonged domestic occupation rather than mining operations. It is clear that if there is any weight in the theory that the floors showed signs of domestic occupation, such occupation must have occurred at a period subsequent to the date at which the pits were worked as gold mines, *i.e.*, later than mediæval times. But as the use of the pits for domestic purposes is alleged to have occurred during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, the authors of the Report must abandon one of these two theories; for if the floors and walls were in their original condition, obviously they cannot have served both purposes, and it is idle to suggest that they were used as refuges or habitations in mediæval times.

It is clear that the hypothesis that they were refuge pits and granaries is intended to be accepted as the true explanation of their character and existence, and in this relation the whole question turns on the point of whether the alleged evidence of concealment will bear a critical examination. If it will not, then the hypothetical concealment and secrecy must be abandoned; and if these two factors be discarded or discredited, the granary or habitation theory must also fail. In addition, the grain pit theory is said to be strengthened by the fact that each pit was carefully kept separate from its neighbours and had no connection with any of the adjacent pits. If this assertion had any foundation, it might perhaps afford some shadowy reason for this hypothesis; but as it does not appear that the careful separation can be proved to have existed, the fact tells very strongly against the grain pit theory.

It has been maintained that the position of these pits was carefully kept secret,<sup>1</sup> and it is apparently to this day held by some that this theoretical secrecy is tenable as a serious proposition.<sup>2</sup> The sole basis upon which the

<sup>1</sup> Report, pp. 227 and 250, and Transactions Essex Archaeological Society, vol. vii, Part III, New Series, p. 253.

<sup>2</sup> Ancient Britain (Rice Holmes), p. 516.

alleged secret character of the pits rests is the interpretation of the evidence supplied by two surface trenches, the first of which was cut in the space between the shafts of the pits numbered 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, and the second along the western side of pit No. 5.<sup>1</sup>

The principal trench was 75 ft. long, 2 ft. broad, and 2 ft. 6 ins. deep. The second was about 45 ft. long, and, it may be presumed, of the same breadth and depth as the first. Nothing that could be attributed to a human origin was found in either of these two trenches, but it is recorded that the gravel and sand excavated from the shafts of the pits, had, in the opinion of those in charge of the exploration work, been evenly spread over the original surface of the ground in order to preserve its flattened contour. No chalk was observable in any part of the trenches.

Now, apart from all other considerations, it may be observed that even if these two trenches showed that the sand and gravel had been "evenly" spread, the very utmost value that can be assigned to such evidence is, that in so far as it relates to the trenches in question, it may be an accurate enough record of facts observed, but the phenomena noted in these two isolated instances cannot for a moment be accepted as affording any criterion as to the whole area in which the pits are situated.

Either the whole of the pits of this group were of a secret nature, or none were: upon this point compromise does not appear possible. The entire extent of the site examined, which is alleged to have yielded evidence that the gravel and sand had been evenly spread, amounted to a total of only 240 superficial feet, and the area of the whole enclosure within which the pits are situated is stated to be about six acres,<sup>2</sup> and in an area of six acres there are contained 261,360 superficial feet. Stated in another fashion, an area amounting to .0918 per cent., or  $\frac{1}{1089}$  of the whole space under consideration, is alleged upon examination to have shown evidence of the even distribution of the material excavated, and upon the

<sup>1</sup> Report, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

result of these observations has been erected the theory that the pits were of a secret character.

If the surface of the ground under consideration exhibited in the far greater portions of its area anything like a flattened contour, it might be a possible, though very rash deduction, to say, that because the trenches afforded evidence of the spreading of the excavated material, therefore the whole site had been treated in the same fashion. A careful examination of the site, however, will not for a moment support any such theory: it may be described as rough, hummocky ground of precisely the character to be expected where mining operations had been carried on, and covered to a large extent with thick undergrowth and trees, none of which are of any great age. To base any assumption as to these pits having been purposely concealed upon the results alleged to have been observed in the examination of what can only be described as a very minute portion of the site, and totally to ignore the plain evidence afforded by the general condition of the surface, is, to say the least, extremely unscientific. It may be asserted that the character of the surface of the site has undergone changes since the date at which the above-mentioned hypothesis was put forward; but even if this can be proved to be the case, it does not in any way increase the due measure of value to be assigned to the results alleged to have been obtained by the examination of such a very restricted area.

If it be borne in mind that the area of the site over which the pits are scattered was about six acres, it is utterly futile in any event to base a statement of such far-reaching importance upon the results of the examination of 240 superficial feet. There is not, and there never has been, one single shred of evidence worthy of the name, which would lead anyone with a modicum of common sense to assert that the Hangman's Wood pits were either originally or by adaptation of a secret character, situated in a concealed position. The Committee which conducted the explorations is in this dilemma: either it must abandon the theory that the pits were of a secret character, or it must maintain



that the results alleged to have been observed over the infinitesimal area examined by means of these two trenches can be said undoubtedly to represent the general condition of the whole surface. No other surface excavations are recorded as having been carried out, and it must be inferred that none were actually undertaken; and no one with any regard for his reputation as a scientific observer will maintain that the two trenches before mentioned can in any possible manner afford even the slightest presumptive evidence of the secret nature of the pits, or of the condition of the adjacent ground.

Even assuming that it had been conclusively demonstrated that the excavated material from the shafts had been spread over the surrounding ground, this phenomenon could not be said to establish any hypothesis of secrecy in relation to the pits. Nor does the absence of chalk on the surface confirm or strengthen in any manner this supposition of secrecy and concealment. In fact, it does not appear that the Exploration Committee itself was really convinced that the pits were of a secret nature; for while in one part of the Report it is noted that the before-mentioned phenomena "seem to *imply* a strong desire to preserve secrecy as to the positions of these pits,"<sup>1</sup> yet in another part of the same Report it is stated that "the surface trenches showed the deneholes to have been secret excavations."<sup>2</sup>

Between the phrase "seem to *imply* that they were" and the definite statement "that they were secret excavations," there is a great gulf fixed; and if the evidence obtained from the surface trenches only "seemed to imply" secrecy, it is a very strange, not to say a misleading, statement to assert definitely that the pits were secret in character, more particularly when the alleged evidence upon which both pronouncements depend is precisely the same.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Report, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 250.

<sup>3</sup> If the excavated material had been carefully spread, this operation must have taken place when the pits were originally excavated. The ingenious theory that in the reign of Cunobeline gold mines were being worked at this spot and the sand and gravel carefully spread over the

In dealing with the evidence of the alleged care taken to keep each pit separate and distinct from its neighbour, it will be as well to decide what bearing the question of separation has upon the grain or refuge pit theory. It is quite clear that this careful separation is regarded as a strong point against the pits having been chalk mines:<sup>1</sup> indeed, it is said to be decisive against this latter idea.<sup>2</sup> It is perfectly obvious that if the pits were grain pits and each pit belonged to an individual or family, any communication between the pits would be a distinct disadvantage, as affording opportunities for speculation. But did any evidence of the careful separation of the pits exist—*i.e.*, when the pits were first entered by the explorers, were they separate and distinct from one another? If they were, the point is so far a good one, though not conclusive; but if they were in any way connected, the theory that they were carefully and designedly kept separate must fail. The actual state of affairs when the pits were entered is the point to be considered, and in this connection it must be remembered that there was no evidence of the design of the pits ever having been modified at any date subsequent to their abandonment by their original excavators.<sup>3</sup>

adjacent surface in order to provide secret refuge pits for the inhabitants of the district during the piratical raids of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, is, to put it mildly, a simple absurdity.

This country was, of course, subject to raids during the latter part of the Roman dominion, but there is no evidence extant that any such incursions occurred during the reign of Cunobeline, or indeed before the fourth century. The authors of the Report, not having the remotest intention of admitting the simple explanation that the excavations were chalk pits, and desiring perhaps to provide a romantic interest, have overshoot the mark to such an extent as to render ludicrous the entire report, the only exception being the appendices, for which they are in no way responsible. These latter are scientific in character, and afford no support to the extravagant theories contained in the body of the Report.

<sup>1</sup> Report, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> Miscellaneous Denchale Notes; Essex Naturalist, vol. xv, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Report.

It is difficult to reconcile this statement with the Cunobeline gold mine—Pirate raiders—Danish invaders—Mediæval treasure myth.

The condition of affairs disclosed by the Report is as follows:—In the plan attached to the Report are figured, wholly or in part, fourteen pits: it is also stated that holes connecting pits or chambers already in existence when the pits were first entered, are marked  $\times$ , tunnels driven by the explorers being tinted red. Pits 2, 3 and 4 are not in any way connected with any other pits, nor is Pit 11. Pit 14 was in all probability connected with Pit 15: but, as it is doubtful, it may be ignored. The other pits—viz., Pits 5, 6 and 7, also 8, 9 and 10, and finally Pits 12, 13 and 15, were found to be connected with one another, either in groups or simply in pairs: Pits 5, 6 and 15 formed one group, Pits 9 and 10 another, and Pits 7, 8, 12 and 13 a third. Thus 69.07 per cent. of the pits do not exhibit signs of careful separation, while 30.93 per cent. are separate and distinct pits, in no way connected with any other pit, but affording no evidence of a satisfactory character that they had been carefully kept separate. It is a pure assumption on the part of the authors of the Report that any care had been taken to keep the pits separate and intact. When the pits were first entered by the exploring party, these holes connecting the several pits existed in the proportions stated, and the authors of the Report are in this dilemma: either the facts stated in the Report and shown on the plan are inaccurate, or the deductions they draw in this connection are wholly untrustworthy and directly opposed to the ascertained and recorded facts of the case.

A good deal has been made of the assertion that the labour involved in the sinking of a shaft was of a stupendous character.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that this term must be considered in a relative sense—i.e., in relation to the standard of efficiency of the beings who excavated the pits, and the nature of the mechanical aids which they made use of to supplement their natural deficiencies. Further, it is necessary, in order to arrive at a definite conclusion, to compare the labour involved with some

<sup>1</sup> Rice Holmes, *Great Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, p. 516.



standard of effective work bearing as close a relation as possible to the manual effort under consideration.

It will be as well to limit the inquiry at the outset, and the factors to be considered in this connection are time, space, labour, and equivalent cost. Further, it is preferable to deal with a concrete rather than an abstract case. Pit 5 seems in every way most suitable, and it will for several reasons be most satisfactory to assume that a minimum amount of human labour was utilized. The smallest number of men that could be economically employed on the work would be two—one to work at the excavating, and the other to attend to the transport of the excavated material from the bottom of the excavation to its selected position. The mechanical aids would be a skip or bucket to contain the excavated material, and possibly a hand-winch of some description, with a rope to secure its transit from the bottom to the top of the shaft. It has never been denied that whoever excavated these pits, used metal tools in the process,<sup>1</sup> and upon this assumption it is not difficult to arrive at a conclusion. It has been found by experiment that in one hour two men can excavate 27 cubic feet of chalk with the aid of a deerhorn pick, a stone adze, and a primitive spade.<sup>2</sup>

Thanet sand and gravel, however, are much more easily worked than chalk, and it may be assumed that twice the bulk of these materials would be excavated in the hour; and when the problem is simplified by the admission that metal tools were undoubtedly used, and that the pick was undoubtedly one of them,<sup>3</sup> it is a reasonable deduction that a shovel was probably the other, though of course this cannot be stated as an absolute fact. If, however, the mechanical aids of the actual excavator be limited to these two implements or their equivalents, it is possible to calculate very closely the number of units of time involved in the excavation of the shafts and pits. The problem in connection with Pit 5 is how many units of

<sup>1</sup> Report.

<sup>2</sup> Pitt-Rivers, *Archæologia*, xlii, pp. 59-60, *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Report.



time would two men take to sink a shaft 55 ft. deep and of 3 ft. diameter,<sup>1</sup> using the before-mentioned mechanical aids.

In a working day of eight hours an excavator can extract from 5 to 10 cubic yards of material, the exact amount depending entirely upon its nature. As the material through which the shaft of Pit 5 is sunk is gravel for the first 8 ft. and Thanet sand for the last 47 ft., it will be reasonable to take a mean, and assume that in eight hours 7.5 cubic yards of material would be excavated. The shaft of Pit 5 from the surface to the chalk would therefore occupy two men for 15.357 hours, or say, two days of eight hours each, and the cost at the present day would be £1 0s. 6d. It will thus be seen that one of these shafts could be sunk with a comparatively slight expenditure of labour, and at a trifling cost. Had a practical Mining Engineer formed one of the Committee, a vast amount of misconception as to the nature of these pits would never have arisen. To the lay mind, they doubtless appear of vast size, and their construction seems a terrible problem; but to anyone used to mining or excavating, they present no alarming features whatever.<sup>2</sup>

There occurs in the Report of the Exploration Committee the sentence, "the available evidence bearing on

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that the alleged denudation of the shaft has been taken into consideration.

<sup>2</sup> Calculations are given here in order that those who have been alarmed at the labour and cost involved in sinking a 55-foot shaft may have an opportunity of grasping the very trifling expenditure of both labour and money involved.

$$\frac{3^2 \times .7854 \times 55}{27} = 14.399 \text{ cubic yards nearly} = \text{cubic contents of shaft of pit No. 5.}$$

$$\frac{14.399}{7.5} = 1.919 \text{ days of eight hours occupied by two men in sinking shaft.}$$

$$\frac{1.919 \times 8 \times 8 \times 2}{12} = 20.469 \text{ shillings, or } \text{£1 0s. 6d. nearly} = \text{cost of sinking shaft.}$$

This figure is, of course, net cost of labour, and does not include anything for hire of plant. If, however, the work was performed by agricultural labourers, the cost would be considerably reduced.

the approximate age of the Hangman's Wood pits *still leaves much to be desired.*" If the available evidence set forth in the Report<sup>1</sup> be critically examined, the phrase "still leaves much to be desired," although perhaps not used ironically by those responsible for the Report, entirely fails to express in any adequate fashion the true state of affairs, particularly in relation to what may, for the sake of brevity, be described as the Cunobeline myth or tradition.

Now, the clues for unravelling the mystery of the origin of this tradition are somewhat scanty, but as the sequel will show, all sufficient for that purpose. They are, briefly, a paper by Mr. Cole in the Journal of Proceedings of the Essex Field Club,<sup>2</sup> a paper by a nameless writer in the Cambrian Register, 1818,<sup>3</sup> and the Natural History of Oxfordshire, by Dr. Robert Plot,<sup>4</sup> dealing with the questions involved, that is to say, the tradition that the Hangman's Wood deneholes were in the reign of Henry IV supposed to be the gold mines of Cunobeline. It is necessary clearly to understand the significance attached to the tradition by the authors of the Report that is being considered.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Report, pp. 245, 246, 247.

<sup>2</sup> Exploration Committee's Report, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 238, 246.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>5</sup> Report, p. 246.

"But though evidently post-Neolithic, the available evidence bearing on the approximate age of the Hangman's Wood pits still leaves much to be desired. Dr. Robert Plot, in his Natural History of Oxfordshire, published in 1705, remarking on the probable existence of mines of the precious metals in Oxfordshire, says that there may once have been a mine in a certain locality in that county, though the site may have been lost like 'the gold mine of Cunobeline in Essex, discovered again *temp.* Henry IV, as appears by the King's letters of Mandamus, bearing the date May 11th, An. II, Rot. XXXIV, directed to Walter Fitz Walter concerning it, and since then lost again.' And according to a writer in the Cambrian Register, the gold mines in Orsett, East Tilbury, and some of the neighbouring parishes, were actually worked at the commencement of the fifteenth century with some degree of success by the royal favourite above mentioned. There can be little, if any, doubt that the 'gold mines' of East Tilbury were the deneholes known to exist there, Camden's figures of two of which were reproduced and described in the Essex Naturalist for September, 1887

It is quite clear from the Report that its authors consider the Hangman's Wood deneholes were, in the reign of Henry IV, traced back by tradition to Cunobeline, and further tradition then asserted them to be the gold mines of that king. The document referred to is a Mandamus dated 11th [10th ?] of May in the Second year of Henry IV, Rot. XXXIV, and in the Originalia Roll of Anno II Henry IV, Rot. XXXIV, is preserved a copy of this document.<sup>1</sup>

(vol. i, p. 188), and are again shown here; and the 'gold mines' of Orsett can hardly fail to be our Hangman's Wood pits, which are partly in the parish of Orsett and partly in Little Thurrock. The above particulars have a special interest for us here, as they show that in the time of Henry IV these deneholes were traced back by tradition to the most powerful of the British kings in the period between the expeditions of Julius Caesar, B.C. 55 and 54, and the beginning of the Roman occupation A.D. 43—a king whose capital was Camulodunum or Colchester. And when we consider the greatness of the changes—ethnological, political, and social—that had taken place between the reign of Cunobeline and that of Henry IV, this tradition seems specially important and interesting; for, while an attribution of the origin of these deneholes to the period of Danish invasions need not necessarily imply more than that they were used, or supposed to have been used, at that time, a tradition taking them back not merely to the time of the Roman occupation but to the period preceding it, gives in itself a very strong presumption in favour of their British and pre-Roman origin. And the mediæval supposition that they were 'gold mines' certainly shows that the purpose of their makers was then an unfathomed mystery, whether they were supposed to have been secret gold mines or secret hiding places for treasure.

"With these natural inferences from the scanty documentary evidence at our disposal, the slight additional evidence obtained during our exploration is quite in harmony."

<sup>1</sup> Essex. May 10, Anno II Henry IV, Rot. 34.

"Rex dilecto et fideli suo Walter fitz Wauter salutem quia datum est nobis intelligi quod diverse persone quandam mineram auri infra regnum nostrum anglie invenerunt. Et mineram illam a nobis conceclaverunt et commodum suum inde fecerunt et indies facere non desistunt in nostrum prejudicium et gravamen, nos indemnitati nostre in hac parte prospicere volentes, assignavimus vos ad omnes et singulas personas quas vobis juxta sanam discretionem vestram constare poterit noticiam de minera hujus modi habere et eam a nobis conceclare ut predictum est ubicunque inveniri poterunt tam infra libertates quam extra arestand. et capiend. et ipsos statim cum sic capti fuerint coram nobis et consilio nostro ubicunque dictum consilium nostrum fuerit salvo et secure ac modo honesto duend. ad informand. nos et dom(inos?) consilium nostrum super premissis et ad faciend. ulterius



It is addressed to Walter Fitz Walter, or Wauter, and it will be observed that it simply directs him to apprehend, upon information received, such persons as he may think fit, their offence being that they were alleged to be engaged in secretly working and concealing a gold mine with the obvious intent of defrauding the Exchequer. The letter of Mandamus directs all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, Ministers, etc., to assist Fitz Walter in his efforts, and it further directs him to bring anyone who shall be arrested upon suspicion before the King and his Council to receive punishment for any offence of which they may be proved guilty.

It is to be observed that no locality is specified, and but for the appearance of the name of the county in the margin there is absolutely nothing whatever to connect this Mandamus with Essex; there is positively not the slightest ground for in any way connecting the order with that part of the county in which Grays, Orsett, Little Thurrock, and East Tilbury are situated. Further, there is no warrant for the assumption that the mine in question had anything to do with, or approximated in any fashion to, the typical denehole. There is not even any sure ground for saying that a gold mine of any kind was actually being worked; all that can be learned from the Mandamus is that someone unknown had given information to the authorities that certain other unnamed persons were alleged to be working a gold mine in some unspecified locality, which may possibly have been situated within the borders of the County of Essex.

Anything more vague can hardly be imagined. It

et recepiend. quod per nos et dictum consilium ordinari contigerit in hac parte, et iddeo vobis mandamus quod circa premissa diligenter intendatis et ea faciatis et exequamini in forma predicta damnis autem universis et singulis vicecomitibus Maioribus Ballivis ministris et aliis fidelibus et subditis nostris tam infra libertates quam extra tenore presentum firmiter in mandatis quod vobis in executione premisorum intendentes sint consulentes et auxiliantes pro ut decet in cujus etc. .Teste rege apud Westminster X die maii."

*Note.*—A document in the nature of a commission to Fitz Walter seems to be included in the Patent Roll, May 10, 1401, Membrane 17<sup>d</sup>, and it probably refers to the same mine.



seems not improbable that the report as to this or a similar concealed gold mine originated in the 12th year of Richard II when one of the King's Serjeants-at-Arms was sent into Essex to make enquiries respecting a mine of gold which was reported to have been discovered in that county. Again, no precise locality is mentioned, so that it is idle to speculate as to the precise situation of this particular mine.<sup>1</sup> In neither case does it appear that any result was achieved.

It is therefore quite clear that in the Mandamus referred to by the Exploration Committee there is nothing which in the very remotest degree traces by tradition anything in the nature of a mine or denehole, back to the time of Cunobeline, nor is that King mentioned in any way.

The next link in the chain is supplied by a reference given by the Exploration Committee to Dr. Robert Plot,<sup>2</sup> who, in his turn, gives a further reference to a work by Sir John Pettus.<sup>3</sup> In this latter work<sup>4</sup> there are two chapters from which Plot quotes, and therein are contained the next steps in the weird history of this remarkable tradition. The first of these paragraphs<sup>5</sup> simply makes the statement that Cimboline, Prince of the Trinobantes,

<sup>1</sup> Devons Issues of the Exchequer. Vol. i, p. 238, 6th July, 12th Richard II.

To Robert Markeley, the King's Sergeant-at-Arms, sent to Essex to enquire concerning a certain gold mine reported to have been found in those parts. In money paid to him at twice, for his expenses in going, tarrying, and returning on the business aforesaid. 4L

<sup>2</sup> Exploration Committee's Report, p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> Natural History of Oxfordshire. Robert Plot. Edit. 1705, p. 167, par. 62.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Pettus his Fodinae Regales. Published MDCCLXX.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. ix, p. 11.

And Cimboline, Prince of the Trinobantes (wherein Essex is included), who had lived much in Rome in Augustus his time was seated at Walden in that Countie and did (according to the Roman way) coin money instead of rings<sup>6</sup> which might be from that mine which was afterwards discovered in Henry IV his time in that Countie (as yet unknown to the Societie).

<sup>6</sup> *Note.*—Cunobeline was not the first of the British Kings to adopt the practice of making coins of discs of metal.

had lived much in Rome during the reign of Augustus, that he was at Walden at some period not stated, and that he coined money after the Roman fashion instead of rings. It is to be inferred that these coins were supposed to have been composed of the gold which it is assumed by Sir J. Pettus *might possibly have come from* a mine which was afterwards discovered or rediscovered in the time of Henry IV in the County of Essex. The second paragraph,<sup>1</sup> it will readily be noticed, is the gist of the Mandamus in the Originalia Roll already quoted. Nothing is clearer than that Sir John saw the Roll copied and translated the Mandamus, and then conjectured that the mine referred to, which can only be presumed to have been somewhere in Essex, might have been that out of which Cimboline derived the gold from which he coined money. It is a pure assumption on the part of Sir John Pettus and nothing more: he does not say that the mine in an unspecified locality in Essex was the gold mine of Cimboline; only *that it might have been*, and there is nothing whatever in the Mandamus to warrant any belief that the alleged mine referred to therein, if it had any existence in fact, was an old one which had been rediscovered. Certainly there is absolutely nothing contained either in these extracts from Pettus or the Mandamus which affords even the slenderest excuse for connecting the entirely suppositious mines of Cunobeline with the deneholes in Hangman's Wood, or indeed in the remotest degree with any deneholes at all.

The next link in the evolutionary process through which this truly remarkable tradition has passed is to be found in a work by Robert Plot.<sup>2</sup> This author, after

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Pettus his *Fodinae Regales*, cap. xiii, p. 15.

King Henry IV by his letters of Mandamus dat. 11 Maii [10th ?] Anno 2 Rot. 34 commands Walter Fitz Walter (upon information of a concealed Mine of Gold) to apprehend all such persons as he in his judgement may think fit, that do conceal the said mine, and to bring them before the King and his Council, there to receive what shall be thought fit to be ordered.

<sup>2</sup> The Natural History of Oxfordshire. By Robert Plot. Published 1676 or 1677? Page 164, para. 62.

"From all which it may be concluded, that 'tis probable at least that

describing the draining and clearing out of an excavation in Oxfordshire to which his attention had been drawn, goes on to express the very cautious and guarded opinion that it might have been a mine. He further says that he presumes that the particular mine or excavation to which he is referring may have been stopped up by the Britons when the Romans invaded their country. Under the circumstances attendant upon the invasion he then surmises that it might have been lost sight of like the gold mine of Cunobeline in Essex. As before stated he gives a reference to Pettus, and it will be seen how the speculative conjecture of this latter gentleman, that the metal from which Cunobeline coined his money may have come from a shadowy mine in Essex, becomes the gold mine of Cunobeline in some unknown locality within that county. Plot further goes on to say in effect that this gold mine (*i.e.*, the gold mine of Cunobeline) was discovered again during the reign of Henry IV as appears by the King's letters of Mandamus bearing date 11 May [10<sup>7</sup>], Anno 2, Rot. 34, directed to Walter Fitz Walter concerning it. It is obvious that this author, not having the original documents before him, has somewhat distorted the facts of the case, making it appear that the Mandamus of Henry IV mentions Cunobeline in conjunction with these gold mines supposed to have been situated somewhere in Essex. It has been shown that this is not the case, and it is now clear how the speculation of Pettus has emerged as the definite statement of Plot that the Mandamus quoted affirms certain gold mines in Essex to have been those of Cunobeline. The precise locality is still not specified further than that they were in Essex. Nothing whatever was added

here may have been formerly such a mine, stopped up as I first thought by the aboriginal Britons, upon the arrival and conquests of the Romans or Saxons, who not being able to recover their Country within the memory of man, it might be lost like the Gold mine of Glass Hitten in Hungary, when Bethlem Gabor overran that country ; or the Gold mine of Cunobeline in Essex discovered again, *temp.* Henry IV, as appears by the King's Letters of Mandamus, bearing date 11 May, An. 2, Rot. 34, directed to Walter Fitz Walter concerning it and since that lost again."



to the story for some years: it is told in precisely the same words in the Edition of Plot's *Natural History*, which was published in 1705,<sup>1</sup> and although there are several works which allude both to Hangman's Wood pits and Cunobeline's gold mines, their authors usually do so in terms that are more remarkable for vagueness than any other quality.<sup>2</sup> In no work cited by the authors of the report, however, does it appear that the Hangman's Wood pits themselves were supposed to be Cunobeline's gold mines; it is only conjectured that Deneholes might have been the mines of that King. As deneholes are somewhat numerous, there is a wide choice of locality, and as they frequently occur outside the generally accepted boundaries of the kingdom of that ruler, no weight can be attached to the speculations of eighteenth century writers on this point.

The next hands through which the germs of the tradition pass are those of an unknown author in the *Cambrian Register* for the year 1818.<sup>3</sup> In that work is an article on *English Gold Mines*, and in it the author quotes the opinions of Plot and Morant,<sup>4</sup> but it will

<sup>1</sup> The First Edition was published in 1676 or 1677. The Edition of 1705 was published with additions after Plot's death. It is strange to find that the *Victoria County History* falls into the same error (p. 310, vol. i, Essex) as those responsible for the Report of the Exploration Committee.

<sup>2</sup> The various Editions of Camden, Morant's Essex, and other works have notices of Deneholes. I am aware that Morant in his *History of Essex*, 1768, vol. i, p. 229, says "Tradition will have it that here (Hangman's Wood) were the famous King Cunobeline's Gold Mines." It is clear that the Editors of the Exploration Committee's report did not know of this entry, as they arrive at the same conclusion by a different method, although the source of the inspiration is the same, namely Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire*. It does not matter whether the Editors knew of the entry or not, as they have in any event either to plead guilty to inventing the whole story as far as its application to Hangman's Wood is concerned, or stand convicted of having borrowed from Morant without acknowledgment. In any case the tradition is baseless.

<sup>3</sup> Report, pp. 238 and 246.

<sup>4</sup> *Cambrian Register*, 1818, vol. iii, p. 50, *et seq.*

"Several authors of considerable credit therefore have been of opinion that the gold mines of Cunobeline must have been situated



be noticed that it is only stated that several authors were of the opinion that Cunobeline's gold mines were situated somewhere within the Counties of Essex or Middlesex, and once again nothing whatever is said as to their locality. But it will also be observed that it is stated that Morant cautiously enough writes that it is an opinion honoured with many advocates that the excavations now known as daneholes were originally the usual entrances to the golden regions, that is to say, to King Cunobeline's Gold Mines. This is an important step in the growth of the tradition, as for the first time in any work cited in the Report daneholes or daneholes are definitely linked with Cunobeline's mines. The writer in the Cambrian Register then proceeds to describe daneholes, and says that they exist in several places in Orsett, West Thurrock, and some of the neighbouring parishes. He does not, however, specifically refer in any way to the pits in Hangman's Wood.

somewhere within the counties of Essex and Middlesex, the provinces originally inhabited by the Trinobantes. Dr. Plot in his Natural History of Oxfordshire, and Morant in his History of Essex, are the most celebrated writers who have adopted that opinion. The former contends that mines are frequently lost through the supineness of an ignorant age or the storms of domestic troubles, and in support of his hypothesis instances the gold mines of Hungary, which were long lost, and in process of time again partially discovered; and 'the gold mines of Cunobelinus, in Essex,' lost many centuries since and not yet effectually recovered. The respectable author of the Natural History of the latter county states it as an opinion honoured with many advocates that the excavations now called *daneholes were originally the usual entrances to these golden regions.*

"The author describes the daneholes and says they were sunk to a depth of 60 ft., 70 ft., and 90 ft. or more in several places (p. 51) in Orsett, West Thurrock, and some of the neighbouring places. It is further added that about the fourteenth century (p. 53) gold mines were actually worked with some degree of success: for that a royal favourite having obtained a grant of them, which is still on record, a company of German miners were engaged, and certain quantities of the precious metal were extracted. The prospects for a season appeared extremely favourable: that their mineral efforts did not prove finally successful is attributed to the avidity and infidelity of the Germans and to the domestic troubles of the times, etc., etc. (p. 55). That, finally, if the truth of the story of the gold mines of Cunobeline be admitted, this county (Essex) seems to have the fairest claim to the honour of containing them."

He then proceeds to say that about the fourteenth century gold mines were actually worked in Essex with some degree of success by a Royal favourite who obtained a grant. Whether this is a variation of Plot's narrative from some unknown source is doubtful, but the introduction of the German miners is a new feature. The name of the Royal favourite is not given, and there is nothing to show where the information was gleaned from. There is nothing to indicate the site of the mines in question in a definite manner, and it is finally stated that if the truth of the story of Cunobeline's gold mines be admitted, Essex seems to have the fairest claim to the honour of containing them. All of which is delightfully vague and wildly speculative, but it is to be observed that the writer in the *Cambrian Register* does not in any way connect the alleged mediæval gold mines with deneholes, nor does he assign them to any precise locality. His statements are simply that Morant had said that several persons had expressed the opinion that deneholes were the original entrances to certain golden regions, and that deneholes exist at several spots in Orsett and West Thurrock and various localities in that neighbourhood. The whole tale, although by this time considerably involved, contains as yet no precise or definite assertion as to the pits in Hangman's Wood. All the elements for a magnificent tradition have been by this time gathered.

The next step in the growth of the tradition is contained in a paper by a certain Mr. Cole;<sup>1</sup> and this author, after quoting Plot accurately enough, proceeds to give his own particular version of the writer in the *Cambrian Register*.<sup>2</sup> It will be observed that the deneholes

<sup>1</sup> Essex Field Club Journal of Proceedings, Saturday, June 17th, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* "These golden visions of buried wealth appear to have gained considerable credence, and according to a writer in the *Cambrian Register*, the gold mines of Orsett, East Tilbury, and some of the neighbouring parishes were actually worked at the commencement of the fifteenth century with some degree of success by the Royal favourite above mentioned (Walter fitz Walter), which is still on record. A company of German miners were engaged, certain quantities of the precious metal extracted, and the prospects for a season appeared extremely favourable."

which are stated to have existed in Orsett and West Thurrock have now become the "gold mines" of Orsett and East Tilbury, and they are now said to have been worked by a Royal favourite, Walter fitz Walter. This marks the introduction of Walter fitz Walter as the Royal favourite who worked the mines, and is an extension of the Cambrian Register, which simply says that a Royal favourite obtained a grant of them. The German miners are a common factor to the two stories,<sup>1</sup> and it will be noticed that Walter fitz Walter has been introduced presumably through the medium of Plot, and worked in to fill the gap in the narrative in the Cambrian Register where the name of the Royal favourite is lacking. The situation now approaches the ludicrous, but as yet there is no suggestion that the pits in Hangman's Wood were concerned in any way whatever in these misguided speculations.

The last stage is now reached in the strange eventful evolution of this myth, that is to say, Cunobeline's gold mines have been apparently located in Orsett. Upon referring to the quotation from the Exploration Committee's Report, printed elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> it will be seen that the statement is made that the gold mines of Orsett can *hardly fail* to be the Hangman's Wood pits, and the Report proceeds to say that the particulars they quote show that in the time of Henry IV these deneholes (those in Hangman's Wood) were traced back by tradition to Cunobeline. Were they?

After passing through at the very least six different hands, the Mandamus of Henry IV, out of which the whole myth arose, comes to rest in the pages of the Report of the Exploration Committee, magnified, distorted, mangled out of all recognition. And the writers of this latter Report seem to dismiss the evidence as to chalk pits in Pliny, simply because it may have been

<sup>1</sup> Ferguson, in his Guide to Carlisle, p. 33, mentions that German miners were introduced during the reign of Elizabeth to work gold mines in the North. I have not been able to check this statement.

<sup>2</sup> P. 110, *ante*.



second-hand, or his informant may have combined his information.<sup>1</sup>

Upon this mass of error, then, is based the claim that the gold mines of Orsett and of Cunobeline can hardly fail to be the pits in Hangman's Wood, but will the Exploration Committee still contend that on the 10th of May, in the second year of the reign of Henry IV, these deneholes were traced back by tradition to the most powerful of the British Kings, in the period between the expeditions of Julius Cæsar, B.C. 55 and 54, and the beginning of the Roman occupation, A.D. 43? Will it still be maintained that when the greatness of the changes, ethnological, political and social, that had taken place between the reign of Cunobeline and that of Henry IV are considered, this tradition (invented, as far as the Report is concerned, in 1887, by the joint exertions of Messrs. T. V. Holmes and W. Cole) seems specially important and interesting? Further, it may be asked, what is the value of the very strong presumption in favour of their British and pre-Roman origin; what is there in the facts disclosed to warrant the assumption that in mediæval times they were considered to be gold mines, or that the purpose of their makers was an unfathomed mystery—what evidence is there, in short, that raises the very slightest presumption that the Hangman's Wood pits had any existence in fact prior to or during mediæval times? In this consideration of the value of the traditional evidence in relation to the Hangman's Wood pits, it has been thought best to limit the inquiry to the authorities quoted in the Report, and of course incidentally to the authors quoted by the writers whose works have been indirectly laid under contribution by the Committee. It would be extremely interesting to see if those responsible for the Report can extricate themselves from this dilemma, explaining at the same time how the inferences that they drew from the scanty documentary evidence at their disposal in any fashion accord with the additional evidence obtained during the exploration.

It is of no avail to advance the excuse that they were

<sup>1</sup> Exploration Committee's Report, p. 249.



misled by Plot, for they should have verified the references he gives. It is of no avail to say that they copied the statement from some intermediate source; the burden that is cast upon them is that either in ignorance, by carelessness, or of set purpose, they have for over twenty years enveloped in a mantle of obscurity and doubt the otherwise simple problem involved.

There seems to be one factor common to all the pits examined by the Exploration Committee, that is to say, the conical mound rising from the bottom of the chamber, and having its vertex approximately beneath the shaft.<sup>1</sup> The explanation put forward by the Committee, in order to account for the presence of this mound, is that "it appeared to be the result of slow and natural denudation from the sides of the shaft, etc., during the lapse of several years." It will be observed that this statement, owing to the use of the word "appeared," and also the term "etc.," leaves much to be desired. "Appeared" is distinctly cautious, and "etc." implies that any other cause, natural or artificial, may have assisted in the formation of the mounds in question.<sup>2</sup>

When, however, the more detailed accounts of the examination of the mounds are perused, it is to be observed that although the indefinite and wholly unscientific "etc." has disappeared, yet the cautious "appears" is still retained. Nevertheless it is quite clear that the explanation put forward with the cautious reservation conveyed by the use of the "appears" is intended to be that accepted. Briefly, the formation of the mound at the base of shaft No. 3 is ascribed first to the failure of the "steining" or lining of the upper part of the shaft, where it passed through the gravel overlying the Thanet sand, secondly to the rapid denudation of the gravel at the back of the "steining" until a slope was attained on which plants would grow, and lastly to the detrition of the Thanet sand from the sides

<sup>1</sup> Report, p. 228, foot note.

<sup>2</sup> See also T. V. Holmes, *Essex Naturalist*, vol. lxy, p. 10.

It is a curious fact that this assertion has been made without ever calculating the cubic contents of the mass of gravel and sand at the bottom of the shaft.

of the shaft "which appeared to have been the slow work of centuries," nothing whatever in the section of the mound suggesting that any other influence but that of the weather had been concerned in its formation.<sup>1</sup> The typical formation of the mounds consisted of gravel with a slight admixture of sand, as regards the lower 4 ft. or 5 ft., and the upper portion was found to be composed of Thanet sand with a limited number of pebbles. Occasionally the Thanet sand was of a darker colour, and dark earthy patches were detected in addition.<sup>2</sup>

For the purpose of examining the phenomena to which these mounds are alleged to owe their existence, it will be convenient to select a concrete case. That in Pit No. 5 seems best suited for investigation, as it is a typical example, and as regards composition and general features it is alleged to have been precisely similar to the mounds in Pits Nos. 2 and 3.<sup>3</sup> It is also carefully drawn to scale in a plate accompanying the Report, and there seems no reason for raising a presumption that the illustration is in any way inaccurate. Pit No. 5 is a six-lobed pit of normal shape measuring about 67 ft. on its longitudinal and 58 ft. on its transverse axis. The drawing shows at the top of the shaft about 10 ft. of gravel, then 47 ft. of Thanet sand, and lastly about 3 ft. 6 ins. of chalk; then the roof of the chamber is reached. The diameter of the shaft in the Thanet sand is 3 ft. 9 ins., and from the top of the Thanet sand the gravel now slopes back from the mouth of the shaft, at the juncture of the sand and gravel, at slightly under an angle of 45 deg., giving a diameter of about 28 ft. to the base of the inverted cone-like depression thus formed.

The mound, as will be noticed on the drawing, completely fills the distal chambers over their entire longitudinal area and is composed, as regards the lower portion, of a flat cone of gravel whose vertex measures 8 ft. in perpendicular height above the floor of the pit. The upper portion of the mound is composed of Thanet sand superimposed on the gravel before mentioned and scaling from the floor of the chamber to its vertex 20 ft., which

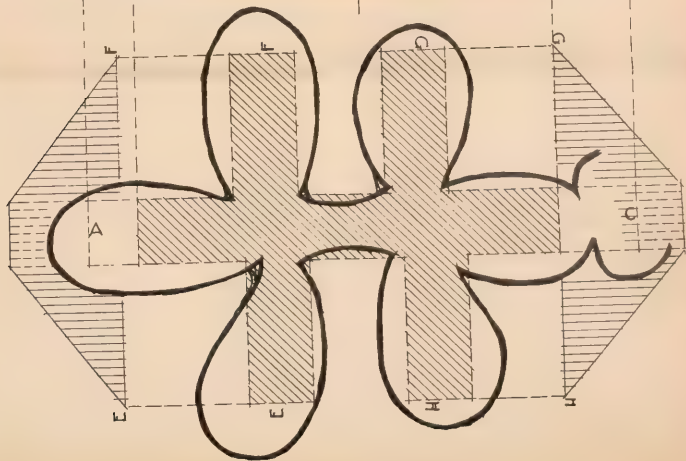
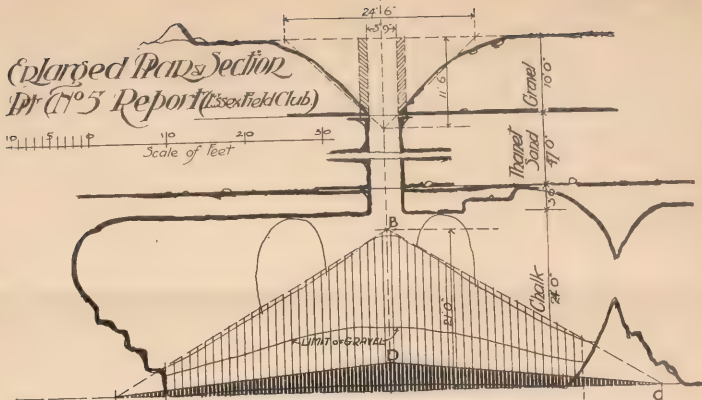
<sup>1</sup> Report, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 237.



*Enlarged Plan & Section  
 Dr (N° 5) Report (Essexfield Club)*





agrees fairly closely with the "fully 18 ft." it is asserted to have measured.<sup>1</sup>

The estimated horizontal longitudinal and transverse limits of the mound at the floor level are shown on the plan. The vertical dimensions both longitudinal and transverse are shown on the sections A C, E F, and G H respectively. The heavily and lightly shaded triangles A D C and A B C respectively represent diagrammatically the amount of material due to denudation and the amount of material actually in the pit. The outline of the triangle A B C also represents the sectional area of the mound. In preparing this plan, the amount of sand and gravel has if anything been underestimated, but for all practical purposes the error, if any, is not serious enough to affect the ultimate result.

The cubic contents of the Thanet sand and gravel composing this mound have been ascertained to be 384 cubic yards. Now the cubic contents of the mass of gravel that has obviously been denuded from the surface and has fallen down the shaft amount to 62.75 cubic yards, after deducting the contents of the section of the shaft where it passed through the gravel, but making no deduction for "steining." That is to say 16.34 per cent. of the gravel composing the mound can be accounted for on this hypothesis, or (put in another fashion) the amount of denuded gravel is roughly equal to  $\frac{1}{6}$  of the entire mass. This leaves roughly  $\frac{5}{6}$  or 83.66 per cent. of the mass which was plainly not the result of the denudation of gravel from the mouth of the shaft.

Turning to the question of the Thanet sand which composed the upper portion of the mound, this material is supposed to have accumulated owing to the falling of small particles from the sides of the shaft, where it passes through the Thanet sand. The vertical height of the shaft from the top of the chalk to the base of the gravel is 47 ft., and the scaled diameter is 3 ft. 9 in. The cubic contents of the cylindrical shaft represented by these dimensions are 19.21 cubic yards. The minimum diameter required for comfortable working in sinking a circular shaft of this

<sup>1</sup> Report, p. 237.

character is 3 ft., and it is unlikely that any shaft would have been of a less dimension ; it is only fair, therefore, to allow for some increase in diameter which could be reasonably ascribed to denudation from the walls of the shaft. Allowing, therefore, that the diameter of the shaft may have been increased by 9 in., the material lost from the sides of the shaft by denudation is represented by the difference between the cubic contents of a cylinder 47 ft. long having a diameter of 3 ft., and another cylinder of precisely the same length but having a diameter of 3 ft. 9 in. The cubic contents, therefore, of the amount of Thanet sand which may be presumed to have been denuded from the shaft is 6·91 cubic yards, that is to say, roughly  $\frac{1}{55}$  part or 1·81 per cent. of the total cubic contents of the mass of Thanet sand and gravel found in the pit. This leaves a mass of sand and gravel comprising 314·34 cubic yards, which cannot be accounted for by the theory of denudation from the top and sides of the shaft, so guilelessly put forward by the Exploration Committee.

Now, as it is perfectly obvious that the hypothesis advanced to account for these mounds is utterly untenable and hopelessly incapable of bearing the slightest critical examination, some other explanation must be sought. It must be remembered that these mounds were found in all the pits examined at Hangman's Wood and that they occur in the pits at Cavey Springs, Bexley, Abbey Wood, and in fact are commonly found in all deneholes of this type wherever they occur.

It having been demonstrated conclusively that they cannot be accounted for by the denudation of the shaft and upper gravel, the only two explanations that are worthy of consideration are that they owe their existence either to attempts to fill in dangerous holes, or else that the material was shot down the shaft when that particular pit was disused and a fresh pit had been started adjacent to it. The first of these will bear no examination, as it is obvious that had it been the intention to fill the pits in completely the attempt would not have been carried to an ineffective stage in every case and then abandoned. On the other hand, the superposition of the

Thanet sand upon the gravel, if it be borne in mind that in the natural strata the gravel overlies the Thanet sand, interpreted intelligently throws considerable light on the question, and accounts for the presence of the mound in the only way that is not improbable or impossible.

In order to demonstrate the simplicity of the interpretation of the significance of the mounds, it is only necessary to assume that one of the adjacent pits, for preference Pit 6, should be constructed and considered in relation to Pit 5. In excavating the shaft of Pit 6, the upper 10 ft. of gravel, through which the shaft would need to be sunk, would have yielded a mass of gravel which must occupy a position in space. If this gravel had been spread over the adjacent ground, the surplus mass of gravel in Pit 5 could not have had any existence in fact: as, however, it does or did exist, and does or did occupy a definite position in space, its existence has to be accounted for. The only possible mass of material which would have occupied that position is the gravel excavated from the shaft of Pit 6. As the gravel overlies the Thanet sand, when excavated and thrown down the shaft of Pit 5 it would naturally occupy some part of the lower portion of the mound which would be thus produced in that pit. Similarly, in excavating the shaft of Pit 6 in the Thanet sand, there is produced a mass of that material which must also occupy a definite space: spread it evenly on the surrounding land and the mass of Thanet sand composing the upper portion of the mound in Pit 5 can have no existence. But the Thanet sand composing the upper portion of the mound does or did exist; therefore the material excavated from the shaft of Pit 6 cannot have been evenly spread over the adjacent ground, but must occupy the only other space available, namely, the upper portion of the mound in Pit 5, overlying the gravel already forming the base of the mound, without doubt its normal position. It is, of course, obvious that the variable amount of sand and gravel found in the pits is due to the fact that the amount of sand and gravel excavated in sinking a new shaft was not a constant factor. Inasmuch as this proposition has been conclusively demonstrated in relation to Pit 5 and Pit 6, so



also is it true in regard to the whole of the pits on the site, except that in the case of the first pit the sand and gravel might be spread, and in that of the last pit excavated there would be no mound except such as would be formed by the fallen material from the shaft-head. As each pit explored by the Excavation Committee presented in all cases the common feature of the mound, it is clear that in the case of this group of fourteen pits, taken collectively, no such feature as the even spreading of the soil for purposes of concealment or any other purpose can have occurred. Further, it is evident that for whatever purpose Pits 1 to 14 were excavated, they were individually and collectively of no further use when the shafts of their complementary pits were sunk.<sup>1</sup>

Some consideration of the relics having a human origin, discovered during the exploration, is desirable. The plain, blunt fact is, that not one of the relics recovered has any direct bearing whatsoever upon the age of the pit in which it was found. The pottery, and fragments of Niedermendig lava, have simply been a surface deposit, and when a new pit has been started the material excavated has simply been thrown down an adjacent shaft, and any pottery or other relics that happened to be on or near the surface of the ground, have simply been thrown down along with the gravel and surface soil.

At the same time, it must be realised that in the event of the steining at the top of the shaft giving way, any relics upon the surface would also find their way to the heap at the bottom of the shaft. While the relics of human origin found in a pit have no reference to that

<sup>1</sup> After I had pointed out the absurdity of the theory that these mounds at the base of the shafts owed their existence to natural agencies, my attention was called to a paper by Mr. W. H. Steadman, read before the Northfleet and District Scientific Society on January 31, 1906. In it Mr. Steadman arrives at precisely the same conclusion as myself, although by slightly different methods. To Mr. Steadman is therefore due the credit of first pointing out the importance of the bearing of the mounds upon the question of the purpose for which the pits were excavated. The gist of Mr. Steadman's argument is contained in the paper by the Rev. J. W. Hayes, printed elsewhere.



particular pit, yet they show that some adjacent pit was excavated at some date subsequent to the period assigned to the "finds." Such being the case, it is clear that, subsequent to the latest date assigned to any relic, a pit was being excavated somewhere in the vicinity. Certain pottery was found in Pit No. 3, about 2 ft. above the floor, and has been identified as mediæval—possibly as late as the sixteenth century. It has clearly belonged to a surface deposit, and fixes a limit as regards time for at least one of the pits in the group. That is to say, a pit was excavated subsequent to the deposit of this piece of pottery on the surface line of the ground. It therefore follows that at least one pit was excavated at a period not earlier than mediæval times, and possibly later than the sixteenth century. Some pottery, probably fourteenth-century, was found in Pit No. 2; Pit No. 7 yielded some fragments that may have been late Celtic, and in Pits 5 and 10 were found fragments of Niedermendig lava. It has never been suggested that any of these fragments formed part of an occupation deposit, and no trace of any such deposit has been found in the Hangman's Wood pits. Indeed, any such suggestion would not for one moment square with the theory put forward by the Exploration Committee to account for the mounds of gravel and sand,<sup>1</sup> and although their explanation is demonstrably absurd, yet it is quite clear that, as the relics do not form part of an occupation deposit, they cannot in any manner afford the faintest clue to the age of the pits in which they were found, although yielding strong evidence as to adjacent pits. Turn again to the fragments of Niedermendig lava, one of which has been identified as part of a millstone<sup>2</sup>: their discovery lends no support whatever to the hypothesis that the pits were secret stores for grain. And further, Mr. Rudler, in an appendix to the Report, expressly states that it would be unsafe to base any conclusion as to the period at which these deneholes were used upon the discovery of a fragment of millstone of this particular lava.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Report.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Report, Appendix II, p. 260.

As was the case with the pottery, so it is with the pieces of millstone : they are simply from the surface of the ground, and have been thrown down a disused pit when another was being opened, and bear no relation whatever to the age of the pit in which they were found.

It is perfectly astounding that, in the face of the report on the animal bones found in the course of the exploration, the Committee should have chosen to persist in the theories they enunciated.<sup>1</sup>

In the Appendix which deals with the animal remains, the absence of anything indicating any great antiquity is commented upon, and the author says all those characteristic forms which are usually met with in prehistoric deposits are conspicuous by their absence. It has not been suggested that any of the animal remains found have formed the refuse portions of food ; the animals originally fell down the shafts, and failing to make their way out again, died there, all remains that have yet been found being of animals that still inhabit the neighbourhood. There is nothing whatever to suggest an early construction. In fact, beyond the fragment of pottery classed as late Celtic, nothing whatever has been found that could be attributed to an earlier period than the fourteenth century. And in this connection it is most interesting to note that not one fragment of pottery, not one single object of any kind, has ever been recorded as having been found in any pits in Hangman's Wood which can remotely be associated with the period during which they are supposed to have been mostly used as refuges and stores. Not a trace of grain ; no signs of domestic occupation whatever in the nature of a deposit on the floor level ; no domestic utensils ; no weapons, tools, implements, ornaments, bracelets, brooches, or necklaces.

It is really difficult patiently to examine such theories as have been built upon such very slender foundations. Stated plainly, the only fragment which could be assigned to any earlier date than the fourteenth century

<sup>1</sup> Report, Appendix, p. 258.

was one small fragment of rude pottery similar to some late Celtic pottery found at Loughton Camp.<sup>1</sup>

It has been already shown that the true interpretation of the "finds" has been overlooked or ignored by the Committee. To sum up the situation, it is perfectly clear that some of the pits were excavated subsequent to the deposit of the single fragment of late Celtic pottery on the surface of the ground; others were excavated at some date after the deposit of the fourteenth-century pottery in the same situation, while yet others were dug at some period possibly later than the sixteenth century. As the pits examined practically formed a compact group, and displayed in their characteristic features a remarkable unity, the inference to be drawn from the facts disclosed is that the whole group must probably be dated later than the mediæval pottery, which was pronounced to be possibly as late as the sixteenth century. Nothing whatever is disclosed by any of the "finds" which lends any force to the assumption that they were either grain pits, refuges, stores, gold mines, habitations, flint mines, places of interment, or silos for the storage of green fodder.

The only conclusion that is unassailable is, that deneholes of this type were excavated for the sake of the material in which they occur, whatever its nature. In the case of the Hangman's Wood pits, that material was chalk, and no matter for what purpose the chalk was used, these pits were simply constructed to obtain it, and there is absolutely no evidence in existence which lends the slightest support to any other explanation of their purpose.

<sup>1</sup> Report, p. 240.





## NOTES ON DENEHOLES.

BY THE REV. J. W. HAYES, M.A.,  
Vicar of West Thurrock and Purfleet, Essex.



LIVING in a chalk district, as I do, and being particularly interested in the various kinds of chalk excavations—ancient and modern—it generally falls to my lot to hear of any new discovery in this department within an area of twenty miles; hence when a new series of denehole chambers came to light, about a fortnight ago, in the old Purfleet Chalk Quarry, the manager at once sent me word of the same. The following description of the “find” will, doubtless, give a fair idea of the nature, extent, and object of these excavations:—In the large “cutting” close to Botany Hill, Purfleet—after the removal of some 18 ft. of “uncallow” or Thanet sand, for the purpose of obtaining the chalk, as ballast for export, the workmen came upon a set of six chambers, three on either side of the old shaft, which had been cut away. The chambers were (a) from 17 ft. to 20 ft. long from the centre of the conical pile of sand which lay under the old shaft, to the terminal walls, (b) from 10 ft. to 12 ft. high, and (c) from 5 ft. to 6 ft. wide, all very roughly hewn; a careful examination, with a light, revealed the existence of numerous pick marks, mostly square, and some about 2 ins. deep tapering to a point. These were certainly not made with horn, but with iron or metal picks, of modern shape, and the little “flecks,” thrown up by the force of the blows from the square sides of the pick marks, still stood in position, as if only



made yesterday, whereas the caverns themselves were unopened, perhaps for two or three hundred years, more or less. Now, if grain had been ever stored here, not only would the floor and walls show some traces of its blackened *débris*, but the pick holes would have been filled with the refuse of the grains, but such was not the case; neither could human beings ever have used them for dwelling places, or even hiding places, since, if so, the edges of the walls would show some marks of rubbing and the "flecks" alluded to would have been knocked off. Moreover, the walls were so exceedingly rough that even a savage would excavate a better home for his family. The conical pile of sand, which is very common in such cases, but which some attribute to attrition of the sides of the shaft during many centuries, I had measured by a well-known Kent mathematician (Mr. W. H. Steadman, Member of the Northfleet Scientific Society and author of a paper on Kent Deneholes). The result, in his own words, is as follows: "The hole was found, when first opened, to be full of sand (in a conical heap underneath the shaft). This heap of sand you estimate, and I concur, to be 10 ft. high, and 10 ft. in diameter at the base: no doubt the heap was higher before it was trodden upon, perhaps up to the level of the opening, but this we will ignore. Taking the dimensions of this roughly conical heap of sand to be as above, the cubic contents of the heap would be 250 cubic feet. A liberal deduction should be made off this, to allow for the fact that owing to the position of the supports, the heap was not truly conical. Now, as to the cubic contents of the shaft, which, from the height of the adjacent 'uncallow,' can be estimated at 18 ft. in length, the cubic contents would be 128 cubic feet approximately; so that, as you suggest, the amount of sand in this denehole would appear to be the contents of more than one shaft.

"Now, dealing with the contention that the heap of sand found in these holes is due to the attrition of the sides, I will, for argument's sake, assume that the 3 ft. 6 in. shaft was originally 2 ft. 6 in., so that 6 in. has been denuded all round the shaft: the amount of

sand that has fallen down is obviously the difference between a 3 ft. 6 in. cylinder and a 2 ft. 6 in. cylinder. Hence, as a cylinder 18 ft. by 3 ft. 6 in. gives 171.9 cubic feet, and a cylinder 18 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in. gives 88.2 cubic feet, and the heap of sand found below is at least 150 cubic feet, after allowing 100 cubic feet for the imperfect cone, I consider that the Purfleet hole is a powerful argument in favour of the chalk-pit theory."

Mr. Steadman, in a previous paper, has applied the same method of calculation to the conical heaps found under the shafts at Hangman's Wood, Grays, and concludes that the excess of sand can only be accounted for by the supposition—reasonable enough—that it was "thrown down a disused pit when a new one was being sunk." This compels the admission, he continues, "that the old pits had no further use, either as refuges, burial places, places of worship, or anything else. In fact, that they were dug solely for chalk, and having ceased to be economical in working, were abandoned and made use of as receptacles for the surplus from new shafts."

As usual, I found the cleavage surfaces of the block chalk covered with iron oxide on both sides owing to the action of the water holding the iron in solution washing the surfaces of these fractures, or "slittings," as the workmen call them in Essex. It is owing to the existence of these "slittings," which are the receptacles or reservoirs of water in chalk deposits, that such perfectly smooth and level roofs and floors can be formed, as at Chislehurst, Wickham, Hangman's Wood, Bexley, Gravesend, and all other places where block chalk is or has been excavated. To show how some antiquaries with more imagination than powers of observation, can be deceived, let me refer to the letter of a writer in *The Times* of September 14th, 1907, who, professing to have visited the so-called "twin denehole" at Gravesend, writes that the "walls had been smoothed, perhaps by flints, and a curious smoothness on part of the roof of the eastern chamber, clearly due to long continued friction, leads to the suggestion that some substance like corn in

the ear had been pitched into the chambers from the top of the wall, which formed a platform under the shaft, thus apparently lending some support to the view that the denehole may have been used as a subterranean storehouse for grain." This writer declares, moreover, that "picks of horn" were used in excavating the chalk, and the same details are reprinted in *Nature* for September 19th, 1907. What, now, are the real facts of this case? The contractor for some new houses in Old Road, East Gravesend (Mr. Philip J. Martin), who will certify to the accuracy of this, employed a man to dig a cesspool in the backyard of one of the new houses, and, as the man continued to deepen the shaft, or well, he was alarmed beyond measure by a sudden collapse of the ground under his feet, which caused his precipitation several feet lower, until he alighted—more terrified than hurt—upon a pile of Thanet sand, which lay on the bottom of an old denehole chamber. Shouting to his companions he was pulled up, and an exploration was made of the cavity, when it was found that the real shaft of the chamber was only 2 ft. away from the new one and still stopped up. There were two chambers below, each with its own shaft, and each measuring about 14 ft. by 22 ft., but the shaft *The Times* writer was lowered down by was the new one, made a few weeks previously by the workman. Mr. Norman Brooks and I had explored it thoroughly and taken photographs, so we know that the pick marks were not round but square. "some 1 in. deep, some 2 in. deep or more. Many (we examined over forty) were quite square, with clear-cut sides gradually tapering to a point; others were rounded, but still inclining to the square form, as if the once square metal implement was becoming worn" (*Dartford Reporter*). The pile of sand had been, again, mistaken for a "wall," and the oxide of iron, deposited on the smooth "slitting" of the roof, mistaken for vegetable remains, rubbed level by "long continued but gentle friction." In fact, the whole description in the letter to *The Times* was most misleading and mischievous, although unintentional. In the case of the Purfleet chalk excava-



tors, they seem to have known exactly where to seek for the special dense, pure chalk they required, either for lime-burning or for building blocks, and this quality, the managers of the different local quarries inform me, is invariably to be found where the Thanet sand is thickest, as in Chislehurst, Hangman's Wood, and Purfleet. At the latter place, at the other side of the same cutting, only 100 yds. off, chalk of a certain kind could be obtained within 2 ft. of the surface, but it would not have suited their purpose, being friable and impure, owing to the surface water carrying down millions of particles of clay through the fractures into the chalk; whereas the chalk right under the greater depth of Thanet sand retained its block form, and was not vitiated with clay. Besides all this, it is utterly impossible—except by the denehole plan of digging a shaft through the sand and removing the top layers first—to secure chalk in blocks suitable for building (such as they used in former days), *i.e.*, the top soil and upper layers must be taken cut or off, in order to come at the two-foot “slittings,” and, even if the surface of a high cliff of block chalk presented itself, as at Wickham and Purfleet, no block chalk could be extracted except in small pieces, useless for building purposes, until from 30 ft. to 50 ft. of the sand and surface chalk was first removed, and this would be obviated by sinking a narrow shaft from overhead, and working from the roof by taking up the floor. This is what is done to-day in more than one chalk mine which I have seen. The fact is also known to Messrs. T. E. Forster and R. H. Forster, Mr. A. L. Leach, Mr. Francis, Mr. Reader, Mr. Ernest Baker, and several others, well known in antiquarian circles.

After an interesting visit to the recently-opened denehole at Purfleet, I had the honour of showing Mr. Miller Christy and Mr. F. W. Reader some excellent “slittings” in the Northfleet Coal and Ballast Company's cutting in this parish; also numberless hard “blocks” of chalk, chiselled for building purposes in the early part of the sixteenth or end of the fifteenth century (1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft., and 1 ft. 6 in. in size), inserted all round the interior



walls of West Thurrock Church, and doing duty for stones and brick. They occur even in the central arch of the tower, where they have been subject to enormous pressure for five hundred years or more, and yet are perfect. Similar blocks were used in Tilbury and other Churches, showing that a large trade must have at one time been done in them, the source of supply, probably, being either Hangman's Wood or Purfleet.





## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 8TH, 1908.

CHARLES E. KEYSER, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. C. S. Buckingham, M.A., exhibited some fine specimens of Bellarmine Jugs or Grey Beards, so named after Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (*b.* 1542, *d.* 1621). These jugs were made in various sizes viz. : the gallonier, the pottle pot (two quarts), the pot (a quart), and the little pot (a pint), and frequently bear impressed ornaments, such as coats of arms, which were executed to order.

Mr. Buckingham then read a paper on Kilpeck and its Church, which is printed in the present number. An interesting discussion followed.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6TH, 1908.

CHARLES E. KEYSER, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The following officers for the ensuing year were declared elected :—

### President.

CHARLES E. KEYSER, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

### Vice-Presidents.

*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., EARL MARSHAL; THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.; THE MARQUESS OF GRANBY; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGCUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE LORD MOSTYN; COLONEL SIR WALTER WILKIN, K.C.M.G.; THOMAS HODGKIN, Esq., D.C.L., F.S.A.; R. E. LEADER, Esq., B.A.; LIEUT. COLONEL CLIFFORD PROBYN; M. J. SUTTON, Esq., J.P.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq.  
THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF  
DURHAM, D.D.  
SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L.,  
F.R.S., F.S.A.  
PROFESSOR JOHN FERGUSSON, LL.D.  
ROBERT HOVENDEN, Esq., F.S.A.  
T. CANN HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

W. E. HUGHES, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.  
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R. DUPPA LLOYD, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.  
ANDREW OLIVER, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.  
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GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.  
J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.  
SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

**Honorary Treasurer.**

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**Honorary Secretaries.**

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**Council.**

ROBERT BAGSTER, Esq.  
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E. G. TOOKER, Esq.  
CHARLES J. WILLIAMS, Esq.  
T. CATO WORSFOLD, Esq., F.R.Hist.Soc.

**Auditors.**

CECIL DAVIS, Esq. | C. S. BUCKINGHAM, Esq., M.A.

Mr. J. G. N. Clift, Honorary Secretary, read the following:—

*Honorary Secretaries' Report for the Year ending December 31st,  
1907.*

"We have the honour of submitting to the President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Associates of the British Archaeological Association, our customary report for the year ending December 31st, 1907.

"After deducting losses by death, resignation, and other causes, the total number of members stands at 258, forty-six of these being life-members. This shows a small decrease upon the preceding year. While in a sense it is disappointing not to be able to record an increase in numerical strength, any disappointment is counterbalanced by the fact that we have welcomed two or three Associates of some distinction during the period covered by the report.

"A review of the year 1907 shows that the Association as a body may fairly be congratulated on the work that has been achieved. There has been during that period a most distinct advance in the originality in the work undertaken by the members, and if the promise shown in one or two papers by our younger members is maintained, they will undoubtedly go far in Research work.

"Of practical field work we have to chronicle that of our Treasurer, Mr. R. H. Forster, at Corbridge, Mr. T. S. Bush at Lansdown, and Mr. J. P. Gibson in the neighbourhood of the Roman Wall.

"A Congress was held at Weymouth in July, and was marked by

some genuine investigation work on the part of several of the members attending. The results either have appeared or will appear in the *Journal*. An interesting exhibition of various objects was gathered together for inspection at the Mayor's Reception, and a general awakening of local enthusiasm was one of the results of this Congress.

"The Congress of this year will be held from July 13th to 20th at Carlisle, a centre rich in objects of interest. A Committee, composed of Messrs. Keyser, Forster, and Clift, have made considerable headway with the necessary arrangements, and it is extremely gratifying to the Committee to be able to report at this early date that the number of the members who have signified their intention to attend considerably exceeds the total number attending last year. There is still, however, some available accommodation in the hotel, and an early application is advised in order that rooms may be secured.

"Mr. Oliver has again consented to undertake the formation and classification of a series of seals, and it is hoped that this will include a complete series of the Royal and Government seals.

"A Committee composed of Messrs. Keyser, Forster, Tooker, and Clift, has had under consideration the question of the possibility of a permanent library and offices, but up to the present no satisfactory solution of the problem has been reached. The Committee have carefully considered various proposals, and are hopeful that at some near date it may be in a position to report progress of a substantial kind.

"The *Journal* has, we venture to think, more than maintained its reputation, and especially in the direction of illustrated papers.

"In conclusion, we once again express the hope that the working members of the Association will continue to do their utmost to maintain that high average standard of Archæological research that has generally distinguished the Society in the past, and also that they will realise more and more fully the absolute importance to scientific archæology of strictly accurate description, uninfluenced by imagination in the slightest degree."

Mr. R. H. Forster, Honorary Treasurer, then read the following:—

*Treasurer's Report for the year ending December 31st, 1907.*

"I have much pleasure in reporting that the financial position of the Association continues satisfactory, the accounts for the year 1907 showing a credit balance of £66 7s. 4d. At the same time it must be pointed out that the amount received in annual subscriptions still stands at too low a figure, and it is to be hoped that every effort will be made to increase the membership, as other sources of income,



such as Congress profits and receipts from the sale of publications, are necessarily precarious. The amount owing to the Association for arrears of subscriptions is still, unfortunately, much too large, but it is hoped that a considerable portion may be recovered during the current year.

"The Weymouth Congress shows a profit of £44 9s. 6d., after being charged with so much of the printing account as was incurred for purely Congress work. It would be unsafe to count upon a similar profit from the coming Congress at Carlisle, but it is hoped that there will be such an increase in the number of our own members attending the meeting as to make the Association less dependent on local support.

"The receipts from the sale of publications were increased during 1907 by the settlement with Mr. Nutt, as mentioned in the report presented at the last Annual Meeting. It is not likely that the same amount—£42 15s.—will again be realised in any one year, but it seems probable that there will continue to be a certain demand for parts of the *Journal* containing papers of particular interest.

"The cost of producing the *Journal* has been about £10 more than the cost of the previous volume, the increase being due to the larger number of illustrations. These, however, have greatly added to the interest and value of the four parts issued, and special thanks are due to the President for his generosity in bearing the whole expense of the illustrations for his paper on 'Norman Architecture in Nottinghamshire.' Apart from the *Journal*, the expenditure in 1907 has been slightly lower than in 1906.

"During the year 1907, the following grants were made from the Grant Fund in aid of archaeological research :—

	£	s.	d.
The Corbridge Excavation Fund	5	5	0
The Manchester Excavation Fund	5	5	0
The Essex Red Hills Exploration	3	3	0
The Lansdowne Excavation Fund	2	2	0

The balance of the Grant Fund now stands at £15 15s. 2d., and as the Association has at the present date a bank balance of nearly £200, it will be for the Council to decide whether a further sum may not be allocated to this Fund.

"With regard to the future, I can only reiterate what I have already said on the subject of the membership and the annual subscriptions. If it is decided in the near future to move to other premises, the ordinary expenditure of the Association will be increased,

and though we are already in a position to bear a moderate increase, it is desirable that any extra expenditure should be balanced by an increase in the number of subscribing members."

Mr. C. J. Williams then moved the following alteration of the Rules, of which notice had been duly given:—

"That the Ordinary Meetings be held at 4.30 P.M. in the afternoon."

The motion was seconded by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, and after considerable discussion was declared to be carried.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 20TH, 1908.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. R. E. Leader, B.A., Vice-President, read a paper on "Alien Immigrant Cutlery Traditions," in which he subjected to a critical examination the theory that great improvements in the cutlery manufactures of Hallamshire were introduced by refugees from the Netherlands during the reign of Elizabeth, or by Huguenots after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In the course of a remarkably able paper, Mr. Leader showed that these traditions were unsupported by evidence, and that the manufactures of Hallamshire had reached a high degree of excellence before Alva's persecution.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17TH, 1908.

R. E. LEADER, ESQ., B.A., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. J. G. N. Clift, Honorary Secretary, exhibited and described a large number of palæolithic and neolithic implements.

Mr. R. H. Forster read a paper on "Wilfrid's Church at Hexham," giving a special description of the remains of the apse of the seventh-century building, which have recently been discovered by Mr. J. P. Gibson under the pavement of the choir of the mediæval church, a little to the east of the rood screen.

Mr. J. G. N. Clift then read a paper on the supposed tradition connecting the gold mines of Cunobeline with the deneholes of Hangman's Wood. This paper has been incorporated in the paper by the same author which is printed in the present number.





## Archaeological Notes.

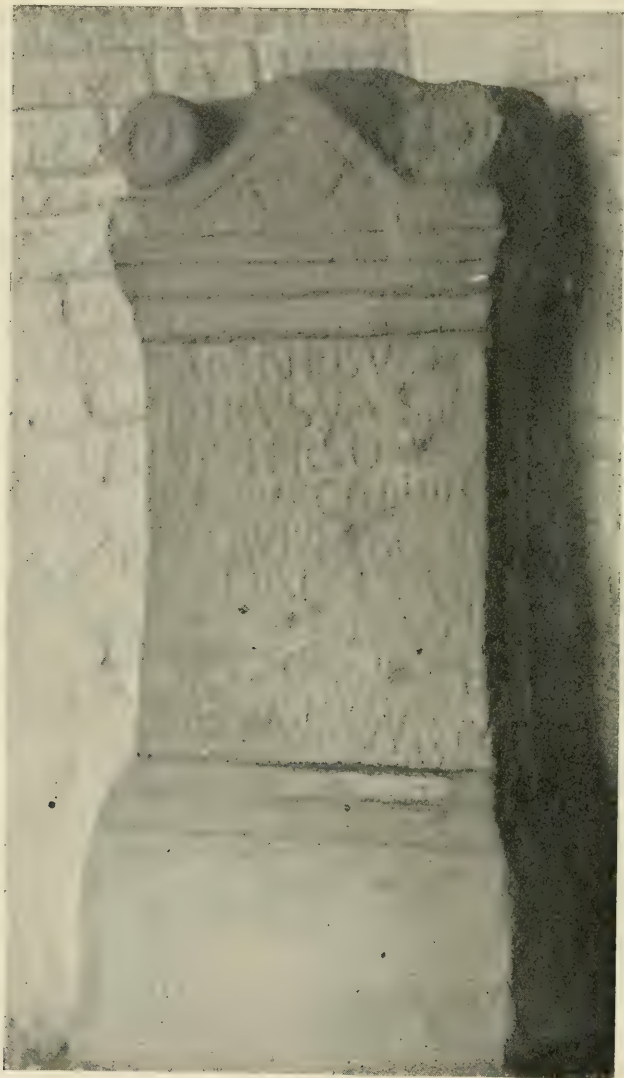
### THE ROMAN STATION AT SLACK, NEAR HUDDERSFIELD.

WE are glad to hear that there is a prospect of excavations being carried out on this site, on the initiative of Major Lees and Mr. Samuel Andrew, who have already done such good work at Castleshaw. The fort at Slack, which has usually been identified with the *Cambodunum* of the Antonine Itinerary, lies, like those at Manchester and Castleshaw, on the line of the great road which connected Chester and York, and must have been designed to control the wild country of the eastern slope of the "Pennines," as the Castleshaw station controlled the western. One of the field-walls of the farm which occupies the site is largely built of Roman tiles: more than forty years ago excavations carried out in these fields brought to light a series of rooms heated by hypocausts, and suggesting by their plan and arrangement the ordinary equipment of a Roman bath; and another hypocaust, discovered close by in 1824, was removed and set up in the grounds of Greenhead, Huddersfield. Other foundations, discovered in the 'sixties, suggest the outlines of a Roman fort, and another wall on the farm is mainly built of stones which have probably been taken from the headquarters building. The indications so far observed point to a similarity between the stations at Slack and at Castleshaw: tiles bearing the same stamp have been found at each place, the coins discovered cover the same period—from Vespasian to Trajan, and at each station an altar has been found, with a dedication by a centurion of the Sixth Legion. Another altar, which now stands under an arch in the Greenhead Park at Huddersfield, probably came from Slack or its vicinity: it bears a dedication to a Roman emperor and a divinity of the Brigantes.

### ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM CUMBERLAND.

Two interesting inscribed stones have recently been found in Cumberland. The digging of a field drain near the site of the Roman fort at Plumpton Wall (*Voreda*), a few miles north of Penrith, resulted in

the discovery of a large, roughly-carved altar, with an inscription of which the following lines have been read by Professor Haverfield :—



OMNIBVS  
 DIEVS . VNSE  
 NIS . FERSOMA  
 RIS . BVRCANVS  
 ARCAVVS . AGDA  
 ARCVSTVS - - -



Only the first two words (*omnibus dibus*) are free from doubt. *Unsensis* and *Persomaris* may be epithets applied to the gods to whom the altar is dedicated, but the words are unknown, while the names of the dedicator (*Burcanis Arcarius Agla*) are of a type unknown to



philology. *Arcustus* might conceivably be *ar(morum) custos*, a known official.

The letters of the inscription are said to be worn and genuine, but we cannot regard it as quite free from suspicion. It might be the work of some old-time forger, carved on a genuine and originally blank altar.

The inscribed tablet shown in the illustration was found close to the Roman station at old Carlisle, near Wigton. It bears the following inscription :—

HERCVLI  
SORTES . SIG  
ILIVS . EMERIT .  
D . D . S . P .

*Herculi(s) sortes Sigilius emerit(us) d(onum) d(e) s(uo) p(osuit).*

Here, *sortes* is probably used in the sense of tithes—a meaning mentioned in literature and inscriptions.

#### AN ANCIENT CARTULARY.

AMONGST the manuscripts from the Phillips Library, recently sold at Sotheby's, was an ancient cartulary dealing with the brotherhood of St. Fabian and St. Sabastian in the old church of St. Botolph Without, in Aldersgate Street. This brotherhood was founded in 1377, confirmed by Henry IV and Henry VI, and suppressed in the reign of Edward VI. It possessed an endowment of "more than 30 pounds by the yeere," and it appears to have been of the religious character common in mediæval times, "every man paynge a peny for to fynde XIII taperes aboute the sepulchre of Criste at Estre in the Chirche of Seynt Botulphe wt oute Alderesgate in London." The document contains an early calendar, the rules of the fraternity, lists of the brethren, an interesting series of accounts, including entries for "expences of pleyes and potacions," and a list of the goods belonging to the brotherhood.

#### ROMAN REMAINS IN HAMPSHIRE.

THE following paragraph appeared in a recent number of *The Times* :—

"Mr. A. Moray Williams writes from Bedales School, Petersfield, Hants :—'The excavation of the Romano-British villa at the Stroud, near Petersfield, Hants, is nearing completion. The house is a large one of the courtyard type, with buildings on three sides of the court, and an enclosing wall and gateway on the fourth. The north wing (uncovered last year) consists of living rooms flanked by a wide corridor, which was at one time paved with a patterned mosaic. Most of these rooms had plain red tessellated pavements; two were heated by means of hypocausts. The west wing is composed of an elaborate group of twelve bath chambers, showing in good preservation the substructures, floors, and hypocausts of the various baths whose uses can thereby with some certainty be distinguished. The drainage system can be traced in detail, and, in addition, a curious flue runs along two large *Caldaria* underneath the hypocaust. This is an interesting point, the more so as a similar

feature occurred in the *Caldaria* of the public baths at Silchester. Here, as there, this channel directly underlies the main flue passage, but if its object was only to provide warm air of a purer type than that sent up by the actual hypocaust, it is hard to understand its connection with an undoubted waste drain in an adjoining bath, and it is full of a clay deposit. The east wing of the house appears to have been devoted to outhouses or sheds, but there are indications, which have not yet been traced, of an annexe here. The gateway on the south side points across the valley to Butser Hill, where a Roman road may still be traced. The whole house covers a rectangular area measuring about 250 ft. by 150 ft. In plan it very much resembles the Brading Villa in the Isle of Wight, and its elaborate system of baths would point to its having been as pretentious a residence. On the other hand, this liberal accommodation is hardly in keeping with the unpretentious character of the main living rooms. Each wing is being completely uncovered, and until September the public can thus have the opportunity of seeing the entire ground plan of another rather remarkable Romano-British country house of the late third century A.D."

# ROMAN INSCRIPTION FOUND AT DORCHESTER.

THOSE who attended the Weymouth Congress in July last will be specially interested to hear that a Roman inscribed stone has been found in the foundations of the porch of Fordington St. George's Church, Dorchester. It is a slab of Purbeck marble, measuring 2 ft. 11 in. by 2 ft. 4½ in. by 6 in. thick, and the inscription, which has unfortunately been much damaged, is evidently sepulchral.

GARI - - -  
CIVIS - OM  
AN L  
RVFINVSET  
- ARINÆT  
AVIIAFILIEIVS  
E - OMANAUXO -

(*Dis Manibus, G. Ari (?) civis (R)om(anus), an(norum) l. Rufinus et (M)arina et Arca fili eius et (l) (R)omana uxo(r).*)

The discovery of this stone perhaps indicates that the cemetery was on the Fordington side of the Roman city. The inscription is the first found in Dorchester.

# AN ALLEGED EARLY ALLUSION TO DENEHOLES.

*The Athenæum* of March 7th contains an article, signed E. A. B., who has discovered in the poem *Percival, ou Conte del Graal* of Chrestien de Troyes, a passage in which he sees a reference to deneholes and their uses in the age vaguely called Arthurian.

\* The poem describes how the land of Logres (Britain) became desolate and waste, and the road to the palace of the Rich Fisher was lost, because of an outrage com-  
1908 11

mitted by King Amagons upon the damsels of the *puis* or wells, who used to stand at these places and offer food and drink to the knights and other wayfarers journeying through the forests. No one who passed through the woods, whether at morn or eve, had need to go further out of his way than to one of these pits or wells. There, whatsoever he wanted, he was able to get; for a damsel would issue forth, with a golden cup, and set before him all sorts of viands, another attending upon him with towel and bowl; and if he did not care for the fare they brought, several others would bring whatever he liked, serving him plentifully and with great joy. The damsels waited on all who wandered along the highways and came to the *puis* for refreshment, and they entertained them with pleasure and alacrity.

"But it came to pass that a villainous king and his vassals ravished the damsels of the *puis*, and carried off their golden cups, so that all the *puis* were deserted, and the country declined, trees, meadows, and flowers withering away. The legend was told to Arthur and his knights, who undertook to avenge the crime upon the lineage of Amagons (or Magons), and to reinstate the descendants of the damsels.

"Now the word *puis* or *puy*s has mystified redactors and commentators from the sixteenth century downwards. Miss Weston, in *The Legend of Perceval*, translates it 'wells,' and calls the damsels 'the maidens of the wells.' A prose version of the poem was printed in black-letter at Paris in 1530, and there the word used is *caves*; but the paraphraser does not think the meaning clear, and explains:— 'Ces pucelles se tenoient en caves que l'ancienne hystoire appelle autrement puy's, qui estoient en celle forestz entaillés par ouvraige merveilleux.' He adds that the damsels seem 'mieulx chose de fairie quatre riens.' I submit that we have here a clear allusion to our English deneholes. Some sort of cave or excavation in the woods is obviously referred to, and the shape is indicated by the word *puis*, from the Latin *puteum*, which implies something in the nature of a shaft giving access to the cavity. In short, if it is not a denehole, it is something exactly like it under another name. Considering the fidelity with which Chrestien and his continuators were wont to reproduce the details of ancient tales and legends, even when they did not altogether understand the drift of what they were repeating, we may be certain that an old tradition is here preserved recording the use of our deneholes, or of something singularly like them, as storehouses and places of entertainment during, or just before, the early Middle Ages. That the *puis* or *caves* had actual existence, and were no invention of poet or romancer, is obvious to anyone reading the passage who is familiar with the methods of twelfth- and thirteenth-century romancers."

The reference is interesting, but we cannot agree that it "seems to refer indubitably to these ancient excavations," or throws any light on their origin and use. In the first place the use of the term "ancient" comes near to begging the question. Some deneholes may be, and probably are, ancient, but a good deal of confusion has been introduced by the assumption, which many writers appear to make, that all deneholes are coeval and were in use simultaneously. The theory that they were chalk mines does not imply regular and continuous working: the chalking of agricultural land was an operation performed at intervals of some years, and it seems probable that, generally speaking, one pit would be worked out before another was



begun, so that one group of deneholes may cover a period of considerable length, perhaps amounting to centuries.

With regard to the passage quoted, the translation *caves* seems, perhaps to be better suited to the context, if we take into consideration the services performed by the damsels of the *païs*. But if the writer asks us to imagine a number of damsels climbing up the shaft of a denehole, bringing with them a golden cup, a towel and bowl, and all sorts of viands, it is time to enter a protest. Even if the passage be regarded as an expansion of a vague tradition that deneholes were storehouses and places of refreshment in Romano-British times, and if we assume (for it is pure assumption) that such a tradition did exist, the evidence so adduced is of the flimsiest description. Again, if deneholes were used as places of refreshment, why do we find them in groups? The poem certainly implies that they were distributed about the forests. We should like to know on what evidence the writer bases his assertion that the existence of "the deneholes" in Romano-British times has been amply proved.



## Obituary.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S.,  
F.S.A.

By the death of Sir John Evans, the Association loses a Vice-President, whose name has for many years adorned its list of Officers. Sir John was born in 1823 at Market Bosworth, where his father, the Rev. A. B. Evans, D.D., was head master of the Grammar School, and at that school he received his early education: it was intended that he should proceed to Brasenose College, Oxford, of which at a later period he was made an Honorary Fellow, but at the age of seventeen he obtained a position in the firm of John Dickinson and Co., paper manufacturers, of Hemel Hempstead, and with that business he was connected for the rest of his life.

Sir John became Honorary Secretary of the Numismatic Society in 1854: he was made President of the Society in 1874, and continued to edit its *Journal* until his death. In 1854 he joined the Society of Antiquaries, of which he was President from 1885 to 1892. In 1855 he became a member of the British Archæological Association, and was a Vice-President from 1868 to his decease. He joined the Geological Society in 1857, and was made its President in 1874; in 1864 he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society, of which he was Treasurer from 1878 to 1898, and a Vice-President at the time of his death. He also presided over the Anthropological Institute, the Society of Arts, the Egypt Exploration Fund, and the Institute of Chemical Industry. He was a Trustee of the British Museum, and President of the Meeting of the British Association in 1897-1898. He was created K.C.B. in 1892.

This list of offices speaks for itself, but Sir John's greatest monument is to be found in his three principal works—*The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (1864) and its *Supplement* (1890), *The Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain* (1872), and *The Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain* (1881), all of which have been translated into French and are still of classic rank.

Sir John was thrice married, and leaves a numerous family, of whom the best known is his son, Dr. Arthur Evans, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, and discoverer of the Mycenean remains in Crete.



# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

## British Archaeological Association.

SEPTEMBER, 1908.

### ALIEN REFUGEE CUTLERY TRADITIONS.

By R. E. LEADER, Esq., B.A., VICE-PRESIDENT.

(Read May 20th, 1908.)



THE wide question of the influence of alien immigrants on British industries is, of course, a theme for volumes rather than for such a paper as is appropriate to this occasion, and I have no intention of competing with those who have dealt with this subject in its broader aspects, or of reviewing their conclusions. My object is simply to discuss one episode, relating not to the kingdom, nor even to a county, but to a single trade in a narrowly defined locality—that is to say, to cutlery as found in Sheffield and the surrounding district, topographically known as Hallamshire. For though this has not altogether escaped notice, there has been, in the absence of authentic records, a loose acceptance not only of traditions, but of traditions enlarged by the accretions of luxuriant guess-work, and these have never been subjected to critical examination.

As my topic is concentrated in area, so, let me premise, is it also restricted as to time. I am not speaking of the general influences of “trade following the flag,” an

inevitable result of that Norman occupation which opened the country to enterprising Continental merchants and workmen. Whatever may have been the state of the industrial arts found here by the Normans, the archives of places like York and Beverley show, in the succeeding periods, that the varied trades of those towns were largely in the hands of men whose names indicate foreign extraction. Nor do I propose to dwell on the familiar theme of the manner in which the pushfulness of individual adventurers was enlarged and systematised by the enlightened policy whereby such kings as Edward III invited alien artisans, and deliberately encouraged them by conditions congenial to the practice of their handicrafts. I am dealing with the later, and larger, influx of those who came, not to establish trade, but for political and religious reasons; those whose compelling motive was escape from persecution. That while maintaining themselves they enlarged, by their industry, the prosperity of the localities in which they were first tolerated and then naturalised, was a due return for generous hospitality. But it was an incidental consequence, not, as had been the case with earlier immigrations, the primary object.

It is a commonplace of writers on the origin of Sheffield cutlery to attribute the redemption of some branches from a rude and rough primeval state, and the introduction of others heretofore unknown, to these refugees.<sup>1</sup> The story has been implicitly accepted by such authors as Professor Cunningham and Dr. Smiles,<sup>2</sup> apparently without investigation, and certainly without citation of any trustworthy authorities or official records. I have been at some pains to trace these statements to their source, and I have convinced myself that they are nothing better than the re-echo of local legends, persistent indeed, but vague with an indefiniteness that imagination has been invoked to remedy.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hunter, the chief local authority, is a most significant exception to this statement. Although fully aware of the tradition, which assumed definite form before the publication of his *History of Hallamshire*, he studiously ignored it when referring to the industrial characteristics of the villages.

<sup>2</sup> Smiles' *Huguenots*, p. 123; Cunningham's *Alien Immigrants*, p. 179.



The tradition, originally set forth in *The Sheffield Iris* (September 15, 1803), was reproduced and expanded in a local magazine, *The Northern Star*, in 1817. They were probably by the same pen. The writer said :—

“ Till the Norman Conquest, Hallamshire may be considered the principal manufacture of arms in the nation ; whence it is more than probable that Harold supplied his army with swords, with spears, and with armour. . . . From this era to that of Elizabeth the iron, or rather the cutlery, trade made little improvement. When, about the 9th or 10th year of her reign, the cruel Duke of Alba had driven numbers of artisans from their homes in the Netherlands, they fled for safety to England, where they were cordially received by the Queen ; and, by the advice of her Chamberlain, the Earl of Shrewsbury,<sup>1</sup> settled in various parts of the kingdom, all of one occupation in one place, thus enabling them to carry on their several crafts with advantage. Of these recusants all, or the greater part of them who were artificers in iron, were sent to the Earl’s own estate in Yorkshire ; and hence we may date the first improvement in Sheffield cutlery. Now began to be made shears, sickles, knives of every kind, and scissors ; the manufacturers of each article confining themselves to some particular village, which arrangement, in a great measure, continues to this day.

“ In order the better to regulate the trade of this infant colony, the Earl found it necessary to form a code of laws for its governance, which code he himself took care to see duly administered. During the life of this patriotic nobleman, the artisans and their manufactures equally flourished. His wise legislation reconciled conflicting interests, and smothered that deep-rooted prejudice which regards a foreigner as an insidious intruder on the soil, even at a time his ingenuity is enriching the stock of knowledge of a nation by imparting to its inhabitants trades and mysteries till that period unknown or unthought of.

“ After the death of the good Earl, this heterogeneous mass of manufacturers, no longer under any immediate control, began to follow their own fancies in the management of their fabrics ; and in spite of the wise regulations before laid down, which peculiarly tended to give a celebrity to their wares for the goodness of their workmanship and their consequent durability, their only idea seems to have been to make as many articles as possible, and these of a spurious kind. In order to do this, they laid aside all restrictions in respect to the persons who should be employed or who ought to be instructed in the respective businesses, and before the end of the succeeding reign brought the trade into such

<sup>1</sup> George, the sixth Earl of Shrewsbury, who died November 15th, 1590.

a state of disrepute as to render it necessary, in order for its restoration, for the legislature to throw the spirit of the former laws of the Earl of Shrewsbury into the shape of an Act of Parliament, and to incorporate the trade by the title of The Company of Cutlers of Hallamshire.”<sup>1</sup>

Not long after this appeared, *The Sheffield Mercury* contained a letter headed “The Origin of the Sheffield Manufactures,” and signed “Traditional of the Children of the Refugees.”<sup>2</sup> This, with some notable variations, repeated the above story. Its author said that when, in the reign of Elizabeth, thousands of inhabitants from the Netherlands found their way to England, power was given to Lords-Lieutenant to appoint Commissioners to receive these strangers. The Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord-Lieutenant of the West Riding, had the appointment of the Commissioners for refugees who came to the Humber. Clothiers were collected and sent to York, but the Lord Mayor refused them entrance, so they were sent on to Leeds, Halifax, etc. Others—weavers of different work—were sent to Manchester, Northwich, etc.; and to Sheffield, manufacturers in brass, iron, and steel. And as the different trades desired to be together for their mutual advantage, they were fixed severally in a group of adjacent villages. Thus the sickle-makers were settled in Eckington parish; scythe-makers in Norton parish; scissor-makers chiefly in Attercliffe;<sup>3</sup> button-makers in and about the town of Sheffield. It was added that from the benevolent spirit of the Earl of Shrewsbury, many respectable refugees bought estates and settled upon them. Such, said the narrator, was the beginning—note the word “beginning”—of the hardware manufactures in the town and neighbourhood, if we except a Sheffield “thwyttle”—that is, the simplest form of knife, consisting of a blade fixed in a handle.

There was another letter, two or three years later,<sup>4</sup> in which “Traditional,” while still attributing the introduction of most branches of the better articles to the

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Star and Yorkshire Magazine*, i (July to December, 1817), pp. 26, 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Sheffield Mercury*, October 3rd, 1818.

<sup>3</sup> These are all villages near Sheffield.

<sup>4</sup> *Sheffield Mercury*, May 19th and 26th, 1821.

refugees, went to the other extreme as to the origin of cutlery, crediting Sheffield with having made thwyttles and other wares since 500 years before Chaucer's time—that is, some century and a half prior to the Norman Conquest. He further asserted that in the Middle Ages her hardware manufactures were chiefly arrows, swords, and other arms, industries which, he said, in Henry the Eighth's reign, Birmingham captured.

As to the probable authorship of these effusions I shall have something to say hereafter. Their divergencies and their chronological looseness, together with certain demonstrably erroneous assertions on points which are outside the present inquiry, compel us to regard them with a wholesome scepticism. And where they are precise, they do not bear such critical tests as we are able to apply.<sup>1</sup>

So far as the two accounts of the settlement go, it has to be admitted that, the evidence being negative rather positive, a certain judicial reserve is necessary. If the facts were as stated, it is improbable that there would not exist State papers or other official documents bearing on the transactions set forth. Whether the immigrants were located by Parliamentary direction under county administration, or whether by Privy Council action, it is equally inconceivable that all record has been lost. But the curious thing is that notwithstanding the revelations of modern research among historic documents, there has

<sup>1</sup> The statement, for instance, about Saxon weapons and armour is undeserving of serious attention, and as to a later manufacture of munitions of war there is no proof. Again, the account of the origin of cutlery regulations and their subsequent neglect is a farrago of nonsense. Not only were Lord Shrewsbury's Manor Court bye-laws framed in 1565, before the Alva troubles, but they refer to others much earlier. They were "for mayntenance of the common welthe of cutlers' crafte . . . accordynge to the aunneyants customes and ordainces by men of the same occupacion there dwellynge made, and heretofore used." The assertions about the lack of restraint between Shrewsbury's death in 1590 and the incorporation of 1624 is wholly untenable in view of new and enlarged ordinances framed in the last months of his life and promulgated by his successor. A further code was made in 1614, and vigorously enforced by a cutlers' jury under the authority of the Manor Court. Other statements, not included in the quotations above cited, are also demonstrably fictitious.



not been discovered, so far as I can ascertain, anything relating to such settlement arrangements as have been described. I am assured by Dr. Maud Sellers, who has made a special study of the York archives, that they contain no trace of such action as is attributed to that municipality; and Elizabethan State Papers, the Privy Council Register, and other sources of knowledge, are equally silent respecting the intervention of the Queen and her advisers; nor have letters of denization throwing light on the subject been forthcoming. It has been suggested that this absence of records is intentional; that it was entirely in accordance with the statecraft of Elizabeth and Burghley to maintain towards Spain an outward show of friendliness, with an abundance of fair words while all the time quietly acting in direct contravention to their protestations; that they therefore carefully eschewed any damnatory writing, and that the obscurity of Hallamshire made it an especially suitable place in which refugee cutlers could be hidden away without anyone being the wiser, and without the fear of diplomatic remonstrance. It was undoubtedly on the "out of sight, out of mind" principle that Sheffield was chosen as the place in which the Scottish Queen, Mary, passed the greater part of her imprisonment. But however plausible this theory of resort to the locality for the purpose of concealment, it applies only to one small district, and does not explain the absence of documentary evidence as to other trades and other districts.

Leaving, however, this question of the authoritative and systematic settlement of immigrants—not without hope that illumination may some time be found by those who live laborious days in delving among musty records—let us proceed to examine such other parts of the tradition as can be subjected to the touchstone of fact. The statements that lend themselves to this process are the affirmations that the arrival of the foreigners marks, together with an advance in the cutlery wares already indigenous to Sheffield, a still more important introduction of articles heretofore unattempted. The mention of brass and buttons are only worth noticing as fatal flaws, indicating the *post hoc propter hoc* character of the



legend. For brass-working was never a marked local industry. And the writer confused with certain controversies as to metal buttons, whose importance dated not further back than the invention of silver-plating in the eighteenth century, the very much earlier manufacture of horn buttons, the subject of some episodes which, though exceedingly curious, do not concern us here.<sup>1</sup> Eliminating these, I propose to concentrate attention on the specifically mentioned articles—scythes, sickles and shears, and scissors.

It is necessary to be clear as to dates. Philip II of Spain assumed government of the Netherlands in 1555. Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558. Ten years later the atrocities under Alva were in full activity. Contemporary with these was the massacre of the French Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572. The statement that the industries in question were introduced, 9th or 10th Elizabeth, by refugees fleeing from the cruelties of Alva, the period of whose governorship was 1567 to 1573, fixes the time as not earlier than the years 1567-8. We are asked to believe that this marks the beginning of scythe-making in the vicinity of Sheffield, particularly in the neighbouring parish of Norton.

But there are on record documents relating to property

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Sheffield Cutlers' Company*, i, pp. 148, 151. Early in the eighteenth century the skill acquired in the treatment of horn for "scales" for knife handles had been extended to the manufacture of horn buttons, especially as waste pieces of horn, cut off the scales, could be thus profitable utilised. This industry was fiercely attacked by the textile workers of needle-wrought covered buttons. They invoked the aid of a series of Acts of Parliament passed for another purpose, namely, to protect them against the importation of foreign fabric made buttons. Long years of litigation ensued, and, later, there was a struggle on the part of hand workers against the employment of machinery in preparing the material for covering buttons. Afterwards, when the invention of silver and gold-plating had made metal buttons popular, the position of the antagonists was reversed, the makers of these, in alliance with the horn button craft, endeavouring to twist obsolete statutes passed in the interest of silk throwsters against cloth and serge stuffs, into a prohibition of all covered buttons. In 1791 fines were actually imposed on a tailor who affixed covered buttons to a gentleman's waistcoat, and on the wearer; and as late as 1802 further attempts were made to enforce these belated sumptuary enactments.

in this very parish which show that in 1553, five years before Elizabeth's accession and fourteen before Alva's arrival in the Netherlands, a family named Urton, *alias* Stevyn, craftsmen with every appearance of English origin, were firmly settled there,—possessing freeholds, marrying into other yeoman households, and on terms of friendly equality with their substantial neighbours.<sup>1</sup> And as was for centuries afterwards the custom, they were combining with husbandry the manufacture of cutlery. There is in existence an indenture, dated 1574, under which John Vrton, *alias* Steven, agrees to take as apprentice John Clayton, the son of a deceased lessee of a messuage he had bought, covenanting to “cause him to be taught, learned, and made perfect in the art, craft and occupation of the scythe-smith's craft” for four years. After which Clayton being then “a workman and able to keep whole work and make three dozen of scythes in a whole week, that he shall then work with John Vrton . . . so long as they can agree after.”<sup>2</sup>

All this is irreconcilable with the immigrant theory. Even if the Urtons were originally of foreign extraction—a notion to which the English flavour of their name gives no countenance—their presence cannot be attributed to the Netherland troubles; for we see them thoroughly naturalised, without any suggestion of jealous antagonism between old inhabitants and new-comers, and possessed of comfortable freeholds, in 1553 (much before Philip assumed rule in the Low Countries). And the apprenticeship indenture of 1574 shows that they had been engaged as scythe-smiths long enough to be training others to the trade,—which implies far more than the six years intervening between Alva's arrival in the Netherlands and that date.

<sup>1</sup> Local Notes and Queries, *Sheffield Independent*, April 27th, *et seq.*, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, May 4th, 1876. The indenture (though showing a bold disregard for legislative enactments, especially by its four years' term ignoring the seven years insisted on in Elizabeth's celebrated Statute, 5 Eliz. cap. 4, and by its journeyman clause contravening an Act of Henry VIII), is framed on the lines, and in part anticipates precisely the wording of the forms subsequently used by the Cutlers' Jury before, and continued by the Company after, incorporation.

But we are not dependent on this single instance for a refutation of the attribution of Norton scythe-making to Alva's refugees. The Norton parish registers have recently been published, and the baptisms, which are unusually explicit in details, are specially informing.<sup>1</sup> For the first three entries are themselves fatal to the claim. They record, in 1559 (1st and 2nd Elizabeth), the baptisms of children born to two scythe-smiths, John Grene and William Camme, and to a scythe-striker, Thomas Rose. Then in the succeeding years, from 1561 to the end of the century, we find employed in the same trade, men bearing the names of Padley, Brownell, Biggen, Allen, Pearson, Perkyn, Fielde, Wainwright, Meller, Cowleye, Barten, Bullocke, Barnes, Tayler, Bates, Clayton, Parks, Bore, Gryme, Clarke, Turner, Walker, Hallam, Roper, Staniforth, Levicke. And in the period that follows, the industry remains in the hands of these twenty-nine families, the occurrence of a name other than those in this list being exceedingly rare. I do not lay stress on the fact that, interposed among these scythe-makers is a certain sprinkling of cutlers, sickle-makers, and sheathers, because it is enough to find before the Netherland persecutions began, say 1568, nine families actively engaged in the production of scythes, as well as of children, in Norton parish. Further, these, as well as the twenty others who appear in succeeding years, bear essentially English names. In view of all this we may well ask where are the traces of a refugee settlement? And how can individual immigrants have brought in an industry shown to be in existence at least ten years earlier?

As regards sickle-smiths and shear-smiths—for these constituted one branch—the case against the tradition is equally strong. "Sykelle," or "sekelle," makers are mentioned in the *Catholicon Anglicum*, a work of genuine English and probably of South Yorkshire authorship, written in the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The rolls of Lord Shrewsbury's Manor Court

<sup>1</sup> *Parish Registers of St. James' Church, Norton*. Transcribed by L. Lloyd Simpson. Privately printed. 1908.

<sup>2</sup> *Addy's Glossary of Sheffield Words*, pp. xxxiv-xxxviii.



(6 and 7 Elizabeth) refer to a cutlery organisation much earlier than 1564-65. But to that tribunal there came seventeen cutlers who each "took of the lord a separate mark for himself for stamping iron knives" (*cultell ferreis*); and with them came a certain John Stanyford to whom a mark was assigned for impressing on his iron sickles (*fulcir ferreis*).<sup>1</sup> This sickle-making Stanyford was in all probability seated at or near Eckington, where Staniforths have been making sickles from that day to this; and if there is a thoroughly English name, free from the slightest suspicion of Flemish or French flavour, it is Staniforth.

As this shows, prior to the incorporation of the Sheffield Cutlers' Company in 1624, the craft was subject to the regulations of the Lord's Court, administered through the medium of a cutlers' jury. And it is not un instructive to note that of the villages that have been named, Norton and Eckington, over the Derbyshire border, were within the Shrewsbury "lordship and liberties," though not under the Sheffield Court Leet with its cutlers' jury. But that they were working in consonance with the local fellowship is manifest; for in 1614 (before incorporation) we find the Derbyshire scythe-smiths and sickle-smiths voluntarily placing themselves under the Sheffield regulations.<sup>2</sup> Among the seventeen names of these, only one, Lawrence Cosin, has a foreign sound. It is significant of prior organisation that, with few exceptions, these scythe-smiths and sickle-smiths sealed their signatures with impressions of their trade marks. This further recognition of co-operative interests found its reflex in the wide area placed under the jurisdiction of the Cutlers' Company. Its territory was defined by the Act of 1624 as extending over Hallamshire and six miles round—which means, since Sheffield is not the geometrical centre of Hallamshire, a circle averaging some twelve miles in diameter, with its circumference varying from eight to twenty miles from the town.

The presumption against the introduction of scissors by refugee Flemings is not less cogent. That English-

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Sheffield Cutlers' Company*, i, p. 7; ii, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, p. 13.



men were dependent on foreigners for these cutting instruments, of great antiquity, and so essential as to have given a mediæval name (*Cissor* or *Scissor*) to the tailors' industry—is inconceivable. To go no further back, and not to multiply instances, the importation from abroad of "scissors and tailors' shears" was prohibited in 1463 (3 Edward iv, c. 4); and again in 1483 (1 Richard iii, c. 12); which shows that the home workshops were equal to the supply. "*Cysors*" are also included in the products of "*smythies*" given in the *Catholicon Anglicum*. An incident of later date is also significant. There arose bitter complaints by the scissor-smiths that their distinct occupation was being invaded by the shear-smiths. This resulted in an authoritative ruling (1701) as to the demarcation between wool-shears and scissors. Tailor-shears, garden-shears, and other shears "turning upon ye nail as scissors do" had, it was affirmed, been accounted "time out of mind" to be wares "properly belonging to ye sissersmith trade," while "such shears as only go by a spring, as wool-shears do," rightly appertained to the shear-smith's craft. And it was laid down that "whereas the making of knives hath, time out of the mind of man, been accounted one distinct trade and operation, and the making of scissors one other distinct trade and operation, and the making of shears and sickles another distinct trade and operation"—no maker of knives might make or grind scissors, sickles, or shears; no scissor-smith might make knives, shears, or sickles; no shear-smith or sickle-smith might make knives or scissors.<sup>1</sup> The importance of this, for our purpose, is that these industries had been in existence "time out of mind of man."

With regard to knives, fact and chronology are entirely against the allegation of "Traditional," that prior to the arrival of refugee artisans, the rough thwyttle, the rudest form of a handled blade, was all the native workshops could produce. The assertion is, indeed, as untenable as the wilder subsequent claim that cutlery was made here five hundred years before Chaucer is

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Sheffield Cutlers' Company*, i, pp. 60, 61.

undemonstrable. Indications that Sheffield knives had a widespread fame in the fourteenth century, though few, are not wanting. The locality had no monopoly, for there were cutlers in many other places; but it may be fairly assumed that the products of Sheffield workshops were among the provincial cutlery against whose competition the London makers complained in 1408, and that its artificers joined with those who successfully appealed to Richard III to re-enact a Statute of Edward IV against the importation of foreign knives, shears, scissors, razors, and the like. In the reign of Henry VIII, Leland found "many smithes and cuttelars in Hallamshire," including "veri good smithes for all cuttinge tooles" in closely adjacent Rotherham.<sup>1</sup>

Of greater importance are the ordinances, previously referred to, made, with the assent of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, in 1565, "by the whole consent of the cutlers, makers of knyffs, and the cutler occupacion wythin the Lord-shyppe of Hallomeshire"; for these denote an organised industry reaching far back. They were for "mayntenance of the commonwelthe of cutlers craft and cuttelers occupacion according to the aunneyants customes and ordainces" (ancient, it will be observed, in 1565) "by men of the said occupacion there dwellynge made, and heretofore used."<sup>2</sup> This clearly refers to much earlier regulations. As to the quality of the goods, these revised ordinances give no information. The rules were concerned only with restrictions on output and labour, containing, unlike later codes, no insistence on honest material and good workmanship. But it has to be noted that Lord Shrewsbury considered the Sheffield knives of sufficient excellence to be worthy of Lord Burghley's acceptance, for he sent him a present of "a case of Hallomshire whittels, being such fructes as his pore country affordeth with fame throughout the realm."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Sheffield Cutlers' Company*, i, pp. 6, 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Hunter's *Hallamshire*, Gatty's edition, pp. 59 n., 149, from vol. ii, p. 414, of Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, etc., 1791. Edmund Lodge was Lancaster Herald, and he made excellent use of the Talbot Papers deposited at Heralds' College.

Remembering the conservative cleaving to inherited methods and patterns, which is so marked a characteristic of Sheffield artisans as to be a bar to improvements, it is worth while to inquire whether any light can be obtained by a comparison between English and Continental processes and products. I have not succeeded in ascertaining what system obtains in the grinding-wheels of France and Belgium, but at Solingen, the chief seat of German cutlery manufacture, the workmen sit in front of the grindstones—that is to say, with the stones revolving towards them. In Sheffield the opposite plan is the rule, except—and it must be admitted to be a notable exception—in the case of scythes, and other large and heavy blades, such as those used for paper-cutting guillotines. In working these, the Sheffield grinder almost lies over the stone, facing its revolutions. In grinding sickles, scissors, knives, razors, and such articles, he, unlike his German competitor, sits with the stone running from him. Manifestly conflicting deductions may be drawn from these facts.

But with regard to the pattern of scythe blades the argument for a distinct evolution is more definite. I am told that only in the northern parts of Europe, such as Sweden and Norway, do the scythes of home manufacture approximate in shape to the long, thin English blade. It may be said generally of the Continent, and particularly of France, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, and Southern Russia, that the scythes used are shorter in length, and broader towards the heel, than the English pattern, which uniformly preserves the same width in the middle of the blade and at the heel, where they are never widened. Moreover, the foreign-made scythes are mostly made of very ductile steel, which can be hammered out by the labourer in the field on a little anvil he carries with him, to produce a thinner edge before sharpening. England, however, adheres so tenaciously to its home practice that even in the case of exported scythes, the blades are always long and narrow in shape, either solid or riveted back, and invariably hardened and tempered, never soft. I invite those who maintain the foreign



origin of scythes to explain how it came to pass that, on their theory, the strangers brought patterns unknown in their own country.

I claim now to have shown that so far from the allegations of "Traditional of the Children of the Refugees" as to the introduction of scythes, sickles, and so forth, by Netherland immigrants, bearing cross-examination, all available testimony discredits the contention. But it may be suggested that the writer, while mistaken in his chronology, was substantially accurate in attributing new developments to the influence of imported foreign skill. That is to say, that though the introduction of improved methods and better workmanship holds good, it came a century later than the Netherlands exodus, and marks the arrival of fugitives from persecution during the seventeenth century, culminating in the swarms that fled from France on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. This implies abandoning attempts to fix the beginnings of the industries cited, and claiming simply an infusion of new blood into an already living body. That is a far more tenable proposition than the first.

The inherent probability of new ideas, manipulation, and ingenuity having been brought from abroad by foreigners, whether individually or in groups, at all periods, pre-Tudor, Tudor, or post-Tudor, becomes almost a certainty in respect to the Huguenot incursion towards the end of the seventeenth century. What is well known to have taken place as to silk weaving and other textile industries, may well apply also to hardware. But was there such a systematic settlement in the Sheffield district as to revolutionise already existent processes, and to elevate cutlery making from mere rudimental smithery to an artistic craft, or, in the old phraseology, a mystery? The later sixteenth-century ordinances insist, with increasing emphasis, on good workmanship and honest quality, and the Cutlers' Company's Act of 1624 recites, as its object, the necessity for safeguarding "the reputation for great skill and dexterity" gained by the Sheffield artisans. They had made, says the preamble, "knives of ye



best edge wherewith they served ye most partes of this Kingdome and other forreign countreyes." And one of the first duties of the new Company was to guard against the "damasking," or inlaying, of knives of a certain quality with any counterfeit of sterling gold or silver, which indicates the long anterior making of, and a market for, high class goods.<sup>1</sup>

This was in 1628, and I am not disposed to deprive the native Sheffielders of the credit of having derived some advantages by learning from such foreigners as had found their way to the locality, whether by the normal movements of mankind and individual enterprise, or by deliberate settlements induced through reasons of State policy. But when larger claims are based on the coming of the Revocation refugees of a later date (1685), it is necessary to subject them to special examination.

The lists of cutlers' names at this time are very complete, and we search them in vain for any indications of an influx of foreigners. Scythe-smiths, whose craft was not originally included in the Cutlers' Company, had been admitted in 1682, three years before the Revocation. Thirty-two makers entered, representing eighteen names, and ten of these are among those already mentioned as scythe-makers in Norton parish during the preceding hundred and twenty years. Of the remaining eight, six—Barber, Cartwright, Goddard, Shephard, Stone, Warter—had long been familiar in the neighbourhood. The seventh, Thornell, now first appears. There is no foreign flavour about these names. The eighth, Bynnie, has been claimed as French, but whatever his origin, one Aleyne Bynny was a member of "the fellowship of Cutlers" in 1590.<sup>2</sup> And after 1685 the scythe trade continued in the hands of these families and of others with English sounding names, without any conspicuous alien admixture.

Dr. Smiles cites the Gillotts, Gillots, or Gillatts, a

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Sheffield Cutlers' Company*, i, pp. 12, 20, 34, 53, 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, p. 10.

conspicuous scythe-making clan at Norton, as typical of the Revocation settlers.<sup>1</sup> Now, without labouring the fact that there were Gillots in Yorkshire from 1297 onwards,<sup>2</sup> it is enough for our present purpose to find that there was a Henry Gillot in Norton parish in 1575, in which year he had twin children baptised.<sup>3</sup> Conceding the point that the name may be French, and admitting the fact that the date is not incompatible with exile from France during the St. Bartholomew Day massacres of 1572, his presence here effectually demolishes Dr. Smiles's assignment of the Gillot advent to the Revocation, more than a century later. And although (somewhat exceptionally in this part of the *Norton Register*) his occupation is not stated, we can trace his son, Robert Gillot, through the succeeding years, marrying a Gillot, having issue, and carrying on the trade of a scythe-grinder.<sup>4</sup> Other Gillots are named in 1612, 1616, 1618, and in increasing numbers after Robert Gillot's death in 1630. So that before the Revocation Edict of 1685, Gillots, mostly scythe-makers, were as plentiful as blackberries in Norton parish.

Let us take the concrete and striking example of another family—the Jowitts, or Jewitts. Here, notwithstanding early instances of the name in England,<sup>5</sup> there can be little doubt of Huguenot descent. There are good grounds for believing that the writer of all the accounts of the immigrations previously named was a member of the family of the late Llewellynn Jewitt, F.S.A.; whose father, Arthur Jewitt, founded, and largely contributed to, *The Northern Star*. We find him claiming, in one breath, to be “Traditional of the

<sup>1</sup> *The Huguenots*, p. 511.

<sup>2</sup> Yorks. Archaeological Society, *Record Series*, xvi, p. 143; vi, p. 70; xi, p. 70, &c. For other early instances of the name see Bardsley's *English Surnames*, pp. 74, 553.

<sup>3</sup> *Norton Registers, Baptisms*, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Norton Registers*, pp. 46, 49, 53; and *History of the Sheffield Cutlers' Company*, i, p. 38; ii, p. 215.

<sup>5</sup> Bardsley, *op. cit.*, pp. 14n, 567.

Children of the Refugees" of the Alva period; and in another to be descendant of the Revocation Exiles.<sup>1</sup> The two contentions are mutually destructive. As I have suggested respecting the Gillots, so here, there is a possibility that some of the name fled, not from the Netherlands, but from France, after the St. Bartholomew atrocities.<sup>2</sup> But, avoiding speculation, we are on firm standing ground when we say that one De Jaout, or Jouet, driven from France by the 1685 Revocation, set up silk looms in Spitalfields.<sup>3</sup> Others of the same name, in various spellings, found their way to the neighbourhood of Sheffield, where we see them, early in the eighteenth century, established in various callings—a husbandman, a blacksmith, and two weavers. These all apprenticed to Sheffield cutlers sons who married English wives, and who became the forefathers of men carrying on that trade through successive generations to the present time.<sup>4</sup>

Now this is a most instructive illustration of what happened when foreigners arrived, in whatever numbers and at whatever period. Precisely the same process is traceable, with even more definiteness, in an alien settlement as to whose history we are not dependent on guess-work, since there exists detailed evidence as to its inception, its career, and its results. Though unconnected with the cutlery traditions, its scene was in a part of South Yorkshire sufficiently near to Sheffield to infuse a certain strain of foreign blood into the population of the town and neighbourhood. I refer to that great engineering enterprise known as the "Drainage of the Levels"—the reclamation of large tracts of swampy land in the low-lying corner of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, amid such regions as Hatfield

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 152; *Sheffield Iris*, September 15, 1803; *Jewitt's Life*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> But the name appears in the *Norton Registers* in 1658, in an entry showing that a certain Ann Jowit had married Edmond Andrew, a Norton scythe striker.—*Baptisms*, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Jewitt's Life*, p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the Sheffield Cutlers' Company*, ii, pp. 265, 268.



Chase and the Isle of Axholme, where the Don, the Aire, the Trent, with minor confluent streams, find their way into the Ouse. In these works, initiated under James I, actively prosecuted under Charles I and succeeding Governments, Cornelius Vermuyden, a Zealander, was associated with a band of foreign adventurers, who imported a considerable number of Dutch workmen, skilled by long experience in a country dependent on dykes, drains, embankments, and every resource essential to safety against floods and submergence, and to converting bogs into fertile ground. Mr. Hunter has told the whole story of this notable enterprise, with its exciting episodes, its fluctuating fortunes, and its ultimate success.<sup>1</sup>

The fact germane to the present discussion is the influence of these foreigners on English life and population. Some of them—Hollanders, mingled with French exiles sheltering in their country from renewed persecution—came not as transient speculators, but with the desire to find a permanent home and religious liberty. Others, with more purely commercial motives, brought dependents to be fixed as tenants on lands obtained as the reward for reclamation. In 1634 the number of families thus introduced was estimated at two hundred, “harmless, industrious people, who pursued in peace their agricultural operations.”<sup>2</sup> They had their own chapel at Sandtoft, with services alternately in Dutch and French, the register of which preserves an instructive list of Flemish and French names, from 1641 to 1681.<sup>3</sup> In the course of time the persistent hostility of an irreconcilable native population made life so unbearable that these were dispersed, their holdings being recovered by the English, who showed themselves better agriculturalists.<sup>4</sup> Hunter, writing in 1828, said: “It is believed that not one of the stock of the foreign settlers is now living

<sup>1</sup> Hunter's *South Yorkshire, History of the Deanery of Doncaster*, i, pp. 150, 182.

<sup>2</sup> Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 170.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 171.



within the limits of Hatfield Chase . . . of descendants, through their female ancestors, it is supposed that there are many still inhabitants of the levels."<sup>1</sup> Some had returned to Holland ; others, leaving behind such portion of their woman-kind as had become Englishmen's wives, drifted off to less unfriendly neighbourhoods. We know that certain of these found their way to Sheffield, where they became merged in the general population, entered into the local industries, and handed down families some of which are still flourishing there.

The story of the De la Prime family is illustrative. The son of the original settler of that name (who came from Ypres, *temp.* Charles I) married the daughter of a French immigrant, but his grandchildren made English alliances, one of the daughters becoming the mother of Thomas Oughtibridge, a surveyor to whom we owe a well-known *North Perspective View of Sheffield*, published in 1738. A great-grandson, engaged in the Sheffield iron trade, apprenticed a son to cutlery, and a great-granddaughter married into the ancient family of Greene, of Thundercliffe Grange. In a word, a couple of generations sufficed for complete naturalisation, gave to England a distinguished antiquary, and to the Church at Hull and Thorne, a faithful minister, the Rev. Abraham de la Pryme, F.R.S. The family had, also, members eminent in the legal and other professions, one learned descendant sitting in Parliament as member for Cambridge Borough, from 1832 to 1841.

One outstanding difference between the experiences of the drainage adventurers and those of incoming artisans is the fierce antagonism they encountered on the part of the older inhabitants of the Levels. They were regarded and treated as raiders and robbers. Opposition to them took the form of constant attacks on their persons and their works, and this, at times, was so widespread and violent as to amount almost to civil war. On this resistance by a lawless race to forcible deprivation of prescriptive privileges in a derelict region which it had

<sup>1</sup> Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

been worth no one's while to own or to civilise, it is unnecessary to dwell. Its importance, for our present purpose, lies in the fact that it led to the same results as more harmonious immigrations. As we have seen, the pertinacity of the native population prevailed in the long run. With the exception of such capitalist and labouring settlers as were merged in the indigenous race, the reclaimed land was left in the hands of the earlier, though now in a measure leavened, stock. The distinctly Dutch element was eliminated—in part reverting to Holland; in part distributing itself over England, and gradually becoming English in speech, manners, employment, and feeling. Though achieved by a different process, the outcome was identical with the case of immigrating artisans. Assimilation into indigenous families and into existing occupations was the inevitable end, no matter what circumstances brought the foreigner to our shores, no matter what were his first experiences. The Dutch land-grabber and the Dutch navy, no less than the Flemish handicraftsman, yielded to an irresistible law, and came into line with those among whom his life was thenceforth cast.

Although, therefore, the drainage immigration does not affect our main question, the importation of new industries or new processes, it is typical of the general course of nationalisation. And I have shown, by the facts respecting such trades as scythe-making, illustrated by the concrete examples of families like the Urtons, Jewitts, Gillotts, and others, that the innovating influence attributed by tradition to exiled foreigners, if not wholly apocryphal, has been greatly exaggerated.

It only remains to revert briefly to nomenclature, and to inquire what guidance this affords on the subject under discussion. By reason of large infusion of French names after the Norman Conquest, and the constant tendency in subsequent centuries to accommodate them to English mouths, any argument based upon patronymics is very unstable. Long before the persecuted Protestants came, many a foreign name had been anglicised, many an alien family had become altogether naturalised. It

is essential therefore to be wary of hasty philological deductions. But subject to the correction of expert opinion, this much may be said : The names in the Norton deeds, of the Urtons and their neighbours, and of those recorded in the Registers as resident in Norton parish, are almost wholly such as are found in common use in England during several previous centuries. A comparison of the Norton Registers with those of Sandtoft<sup>1</sup> shows that we are among wholly distinct peoples, without a trace in the former of the names which dominate the latter. Yet, if there were a Flemish settlement in Norton, we could not but find some shibboleth distinguishing the alien Ephraimite from the native Gileadite ; some marks of speech such as "bewrayed" the Galilean origin of St. Peter. Further, the scythe-smiths of Norton from 1559 ; the cutlers of the Manor roll of 1564-5 ; of the Ordinances of 1590 ; of the Derbyshire men and cutlers' juries and mark-holders of 1614-15, bear, with but few exceptions, essentially English names. From the incorporation of the Cutlers' Company in 1624, to the nineteenth century, the catalogue of apprentices and freemen is complete,<sup>2</sup> and it may with some confidence be affirmed that among some 25,000 individuals, the proportion of possibly foreign to incontestably English names, is as units to hundreds.

The conclusion to which we are inevitably led by all that I have advanced seems to be that the numbers of the incomers have been exaggerated ; that their introduction of new industries is a fiction ; and that their contributions to raising the standard of manufacture have been inordinately appraised to the unfair disparagement of workers of earlier, or English origin. This applies with equal cogency to any immigrants and to any period. It remains valid if we attribute the undoubted arrival of aliens before or in the reign of Elizabeth to individual enterprise, to economic fluctuations, or to settlements dictated by State policy. It is even more

<sup>1</sup> Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, i, pp. 169, 170.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Sheffield Cutlers' Company*, ii, pp 106-408.

irresistible if we appraise the effects upon the local industry of such fleeing French Protestants as found an asylum in South Yorkshire towards the end of the seventeenth century. We have seen from the case of the Jewitts that, so far from bringing with them unpractised industries, they simply fell into line with native craftsmen, catholic enough to admit them to the smithy-hearth and to welcome them to the home. If they showed greater deftness and a less provincial taste, that is what we might expect; and any new methods they suggested or finer skill they taught, were not an extravagant recompense made to a community which gave them generous asylum, and in whose prosperity they were thenceforth partakers.







## CAMDEN'S OPINION ON THE USE AND PURPOSE OF DENEHOLES.

By J. G. N. CLIFT, Esq., HONORARY SECRETARY.



SOME short time ago, in the course of certain investigations,<sup>1</sup> a paragraph was observed<sup>2</sup> which provided food for a large amount of reflection. It was written by a vigorous opponent of the proposition that deneholes of the Hangman's Wood type were simply chalk pits. Upon careful consideration of the paragraph in question, it seemed certain that inasmuch as a basis of agreement between the upholders of two opposite theories was provided, it would be an interesting study to pursue

<sup>1</sup> Criticism of the Hangman's Wood Denehole Exploration Committee's Report. *B. A. A. Journal* (1908), p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> *Essex Naturalist*. Miscellaneous Denehole Notes (1906), p. 13. "Few matters in connection with this subject seem to me more curious and amusing than the way in which the opinion of the great antiquary, Camden, that the deneholes near Tilbury 'were of British origin, and were constructed for the purpose of storing corn, as underground granaries' is mentioned by Mr. Roach Smith in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1867, to be dismissed without the slightest reason being given for its rejection. Of course, there are many subjects in which the knowledge gained since Camden's time might amply justify such a course. But so far from this being the case with the deneholes or ancient primitive appliances, the disadvantage is decidedly with the antiquaries of the present day. Camden was not only a man of great, sane intellect, with an unrivalled knowledge of English antiquities, but, living three centuries ago, he must have had acquaintance with old English traditional habits and practices hardly possible to men of the present time, when machinery and rapid intercommunication have destroyed so many local habits and customs, and sometimes, doubtless have even caused all recollection of them to perish."

the propositions therein contained to a legitimate and possibly satisfactory conclusion. In the first place, those who consider deneholes to have been chalk pits will have no difficulty in agreeing with its author, when he says that there are many subjects upon which modern research justifies the rejection of Camden's opinion; and, further, they will no doubt readily concur in the statement that in relation to the purpose for which deneholes were excavated Camden *may have had* greater facilities for arriving at a more just and accurate conclusion than are possessed by antiquaries of the present day.<sup>1</sup> Further, it may be agreed for the purpose of this discussion that Camden was a man of great and sane intellect, and that for the period during which he lived he had an unrivalled knowledge of English antiquities. Yet, again, it may reasonably be agreed for the purpose of this investigation that, living as he did three centuries ago, he may probably have had a fuller acquaintance with old English traditional habits and practices than is vouchsafed to latter-day archæologists.

So far, then, both parties are in perfect accord, and it is now the turn of the upholders of the refuge-granary-storepit theories to agree with the simple statement that Camden's published opinion as to the purpose for which deneholes were excavated is only to be found in the various editions of the work by which he is best known, namely, the *Britannia*. It has not so far been possible to trace any other published work of his which contains any opinion on the subject under discussion, and the opponents of the chalk-pit theory will therefore have no difficulty in concurring in the proposition that within the covers of the several editions of the *Britannia*, and there only, are to be found Camden's own opinions regarding deneholes. Furthermore, it will not be unreasonable to ask them, individually and collectively, to agree that in the Library of the British Museum are to be found copies of all the various editions of Camden that have ever been issued.

The truth of these two simple propositions having

<sup>1</sup> If Camden had these facilities, it is curious that he should have based his opinion on Pliny.

been mutually agreed upon, let us now proceed in a dispassionate and scientific manner to examine and elucidate Camden's opinion as to the purpose for which deneholes were excavated. The first edition of the *Britannia* appeared in 1586, and was published in London by one R. Newbery.<sup>1</sup> Therein Camden, writing of Faversham in Kent, says<sup>2</sup> that near this place are found here and there pits of great depth sunk in the chalk, about which there are various opinions. For my part, says Camden, I have nothing to offer as my own opinion unless they were those pits out of which the Britons dug white chalk to manure their land, as Pliny tells us. For they used to sink pits a hundred feet deep, narrow at the mouth, but of great size within, such as are those (pits) we describe. Both parties have no option but to agree that the only opinion expressed here by Camden is that the pits in question were chalk pits. At this period Camden was not aware of the pits near Tilbury, or perhaps it will be more exact to say that he does not mention them.<sup>3</sup>

No one can dispute the accuracy of this statement; and thus, all being of one mind, and in perfect agreement as regards Camden's opinion of the pits near Faversham, and further concurring in the statement that no pits near Tilbury are mentioned, the next edition of the *Britannia* now demands attention. This second edition followed close upon the issue of the first, and was published by Ralph Newbery in London during the year 1587.<sup>4</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> Camden's *Britannia*. R. Newbery. Londini. 8°. First Edition. Press-mark of British Museum Library, 576, c. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, page 171. "Faversham . . . Juxta quæ puteos magnæ profunditatis, hinc inde, ut etiam alibi per hunc agrum videmus, de quibus variæ feruntur opiniones. Ego autem nihil quod opinor habeo, nisi putei illi fuerint, è quibus cretam albam ad stercorandos agros effoderunt olim Britanni, ut docet Plinius. *In centenos enim*, ut inquit ille, *pedes puteos egérunt ore angustatos*, sed intus spatiantes, cuiusmodi hi ipsi sunt, quos dicimus."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, page 238. ". . . inde Tilbury, Bedæ Tilaburge, quæ ex pauculis casis constat, antiquitus tamen Ceadæ Episcopi sedes erat, cum circa annum salutis 630 Orientales Saxones per Baptismum in Christi Ecclesiam insereret."

<sup>4</sup> Camden's *Britannia*. Ralph Newbery. Londoni. 8°. Second Edition. Press-mark of British Museum Library, 577, a. 1.



edition has been collated with that published in the preceding year, and the two paragraphs already quoted from the first edition are reproduced in precisely the same words.<sup>1</sup> Nothing whatever was either added to or subtracted from the paragraphs in question. Both contending factions are still in absolute agreement as to Camden's opinion of the pits near Faversham. Let us proceed. The third edition was not an English one at all, but was published at Frankfort<sup>2</sup> in the year 1590. With the exception of one or two words, it reproduces exactly the paragraphs already quoted as printed in the first edition; and as the variations do not in any way affect the meaning of the text, it follows that Camden's opinion on the pits near Faversham remains precisely the same, and also that the two schools of thought are still agreed that Camden held the opinion that the pits in question were chalk pits.<sup>3</sup>

There is no mention of any pits near Tilbury.

In the same year, 1590, there appeared what for all purposes may be termed the fourth edition. It was actually the third edition printed in England, and it was published in London by one George Bishop.<sup>4</sup> It repeats once again, word for word, the two paragraphs before quoted from the first edition, with some slight variations in spelling that do not in any way alter the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, page 199 repeats paragraph from page 171 of first edition word for word from "Faversham" to "dicimus"; page 276 repeats paragraph from page 238 of first edition word for word from "inde Tilbury" to "insereret."

<sup>2</sup> Camden's *Britannia*. 8°. Apud Joannem Wechelum impensis Petri Fischeri and hoeredum Henrici Tackii. MDLXXX. Press-mark of British Museum Library, 10348, bbbb. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, page 249 repeats paragraph from page 171 of first edition word for word from "Faversham" to "dicimus," except that "opiner" of first edition reads "opiner," and "cuiusmodo" reads "cuiusmodi."

Page 338 repeats paragraph from page 238 of first edition word for word from "inde Tilbury" to "insereret," except that "tamen" of first edition is contracted and reads "tamē." "Annum" is also contracted into "annū" and "baptismum" into "baptismū."

<sup>4</sup> Camden's *Britannia*. Londini: G. Bishop (1590). 8°. Fourth Edition (Third English Edition). Press-mark of British Museum, 796—g—11.



effect of the meaning of the original text.<sup>1</sup> Still, both parties are in accord, and, further, they are also in agreement after a perusal of the fifth edition, published in 1594, by George Bishop, of London.<sup>2</sup> Yet again, after an examination of the sixth edition, published also in London by George Bishop in the year 1600,<sup>3</sup> there is positively nothing whatever to disturb the condition of mutual agreement between the dencholk chalk-pit and dencholk-granary parties; they are both still of the opinion that the only hypothesis advanced by Camden was that the pits at Faversham were chalk pits. It will also be agreed, that in no one of the editions so far examined is there any mention of pits of any sort or kind or description at or near Tilbury.

The edition of the *Britannia* published in the year 1607 by George Bishop and John Norton, of London,<sup>4</sup> comes

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, page 249, repeats paragraph from page 171 of first edition, word for word, from "Faversham" to "dicimus," except that "videmus" reads "vidimus," "varie" reads "varie," "opiner" reads "opiner," and "cuiusmodo" reads "cuiusmodi."

Page 338 repeats paragraph from page 238 of first edition, word for word, from "inde Tilbury" to "insereret," except that "annum" reads "annū."

<sup>2</sup> Camden's *Britannia*. Londini: Impensis Georg Bishop (1594). Fifth Edition (Fourth English Edition). Press-mark of British Museum Library, 1302, g. 4.

Page 247 repeats paragraph from page 171 of first edition, word for word, from "Faversham" to "dicimus," except that "opiner" reads "opiner," and "cuiusmodo" reads "cuiusmodi."

Page 329 repeats paragraph from page 238 of first edition, word for word, from "inde Tilbury" to "insereret."

<sup>3</sup> Camden's *Britannia*. Londini: Georg Bishop (1600). Sixth Edition (Fifth English Edition). Press-mark of the British Museum Library, 577 : f : 1 :

Page 292 repeats paragraph from page 171 of first edition, word for word, from "Faversham" to "dicimus," except that "videmus" reads "vidimus," "opiner" reads "opiner," "Britanni" is misprinted "Britanni," "centinos" reads "centenos," and "cuiusmodo" reads "cuiusmodi."

Page 383 repeats paragraph from page 238 of first edition, word for word, except that "subluit" is interpolated after "Tilbury."

<sup>4</sup> Camden's *Britannia*. Folio. London: Georg Bishop and Joannis Norton, mdcvii. Seventh Edition (Sixth English Edition). Press-mark of the British Museum Library, 576, m. 7.

next in sequence. Here, at last, we begin to come to grips with the elusive pits at or near Tilbury,<sup>1</sup> and writing of that place, Camden says that near by, there are several spacious caverns in a chalky cliff very artificially built with stone to the height of ten fathoms,<sup>2</sup> being somewhat narrow at the top. A person who had been down to view them, gave him a description of them. Of these (*i.e.*, of the pits near Tilbury), writes Camden, "I have nothing more to say than what I have mentioned elsewhere." Camden then gives a reference—Kent, page 236. Let page 236<sup>3</sup> be examined, and thereon will be found set down in black and white Camden's views

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, page 318, "... ad Tilbury Tamisis appropriat, iuxta quod specus quidam sunt in cliuo cretaceo altitudinem orgyrum adacti ore satis angusto, & è faxo affabrè constructo, introrsus spatiosi hac forma, quam qui subiuit sic mihi descripsit." In the original text a woodcut is printed below this line.

<sup>2</sup> I am of the opinion that the description must be taken to mean that when this account was written, somewhere about the year 1607, the "steining" or lining of the upper part of the shafts was actually in position. This being the case, it would rather tend to prove that some of the pits had been worked at a period not very remote from that date. I have not observed that this point has been noted before; if it has not, the credit of the discovery belongs to the Rev. J. W. Hayes, who appears to have noticed the point about the same time as myself. As, however, he informed me of the fact before I had mentioned my own idea to any one, I yield precedence to him with pleasure.

<sup>3</sup> Camden's *Britannia*. Folio. London: Georg Bishop and Joannes Norton, MDCVII. Seventh Edition (Sixth English Edition). Pressmark of the British Museum Library, 576. m. 7.

*Ibid.*, page 236, Kent. "Feversham . . . Juxtà, ut alibi per hunc agrum hinc inde putei magnæ profunditatis reperiuntur, qui ore angusto, sed inferius capaci spatio, distinctas habent quasi cameras, cùm suis è creta columnis. De his variæ ferunter opiniones. Ego autem nihil quod opiner, habeo, nisi putei illi fuerint, è quibus cretam albam ad stercorendos agros effoderunt olim Britanni, ut docet Plinius. In centenos enim, ut inquit ille, pedes puteos egerunt ore angustatos, sed intus spatiantes cuiusmodi hi ipsi sunt quos dicimus; nec alibi sanè quàm in cretaceo solo inueniuntur. *Nisi quis existimet, quòd Anglo-Saxones, in eundem usum, in quem Germani, a quibus orti sunt, eiusmodi specus defoderunt.* Solebant enim illi, ut author est Tacitus, *subterraneos specus aperire eos insuper multo simo onerare, suffugium hyemi & receptaculum frugibus, quia rigorem frigorem eiusmodi locis molliunt, & si quando hostis aduenit, aperta populatur; Abdita autem & defossa aut ignorantur, aut eo ipso fallunt quòd quoerenda sunt.*"

regarding the pits near Faversham, and that opinion is also his considered judgment with respect to the pits of a similar character at or near Tilbury; for Camden himself has said it.<sup>1</sup> Writing of Faversham in Kent,<sup>2</sup> he says that "near that place they discover here and there pits of great depth which, though narrow at the top, are very capacious further down, having, as it were, distinct chambers with their pillars of chalk. Several opinions have been broached about them. For my part, I have nothing to offer as my own conjecture, *unless they were those pits out of which the Britons dug white chalk to manure their land*, as mentioned by Pliny. For they used to sink pits a hundred feet deep, narrow at the mouth but of great size below, and just such are those very pits we describe, nor are they met with anywhere but in chalky grounds." This, then, is the long-sought-for opinion of Camden with regard to the pits near Faversham, and also those near Tilbury. Nothing has yet occurred to upset the concurrence of opinion between the two schools of thought. Let us once more take up the thread of Camden's remarks. He proceeds: "*Unless some imagine*" that the English Saxons dug such holes for the same purpose as the Germans, from whom they were descended, did. They (the Germans) were wont (says Tacitus) to dig holes underground, and to overlay them with great quantities of dung; thus they proved a refuge against the winter and a garner for their produce; for the bitterness of the cold is thus allayed in such places. And if at any time the enemy should surprise them, he plunders only what is open and exposed, the secret corners and pits being altogether unknown, or safe on account of the fact that they have to be sought for." Now this alternative purpose is not in any sense Camden's opinion as to the use or purpose of the pits. He is slightly contemptuous. Unless, says he, some imagine—*i.e.*, unless some persons other than himself, such as Mr. Brown or Mr. Smith, *imagine* that the English Saxons dug such holes for the same purpose as the Germans,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, page 318.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, page 236.

<sup>3</sup> The italics are mine, not Camden's.



from whom they were descended, did. These are the plain words of the text, and so the two factions are still in agreement as to the opinion of Camden upon those pits which he describes as being near Tilbury, and also those near Faversham.

This, in the ordinary course of events, should complete the quest, as this edition of 1607 was the last issued by Camden himself.<sup>1</sup> But it must proceed a few steps further, because Camden did not die until November 9th, 1623,<sup>1</sup> and three more editions of the *Britannia* were issued during his lifetime, one of which, the translation by Philemon Holland, published in 1610, is supposed to have been examined and possibly corrected in proof by Camden himself before publication. Furthermore, although it is fairly certain that the pits described as being near Tilbury were actually deneholes, yet this term is nowhere used by Camden. Having pursued the matter so far in perfect agreement, it seems a pity not to complete the investigation. Let this translation of the *Britannia* by Holland be examined with care. It was the seventh English edition, and was published by George Bishop and John Norton, in the year 1610; and on every ground it has been decided that exceptional respect should be paid to it, as embodying the views of Camden, Holland being simply the translator.<sup>2</sup> In this edition there is a description of the pits near Tilbury in the rising of a chalky hill,<sup>3</sup> and the mouth of the shaft is described as narrow, and made of stone cunningly wrought. There is also an illustration similar to that in the previous edition. Furthermore, a reference is supplied and the information vouchsafed that there is nothing to be added

<sup>1</sup> Gibson's *Life of Camden* (1695).

<sup>2</sup> Camden's *Britannia*. Holland's translation (1610). Press-mark of the British Museum Library, 10348. k. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, page 440. "Tilbury," "neere unto which there be certaine holes in the rising of a chalky hill, sunk into the ground tenne fathom deepe, the mouth whereof is but narrow made of stone cunningly wrought but within they are large and spatious, in this forme, which he that went downe into them described unto me after this manner. Of which I have nothing else to say but what I have delivered already." (See *Kent*, p. 334.)



to the description already given elsewhere in the same volume (in *Kent*, page 334). Now, the opponents of the chalk-pit theory have definitely asserted that the pits near Tilbury figured in the *Britannia* of 1610, and also in the edition of 1607, are deneholes. To be exact and accurate, the plate reproduced from the *Britannia* of 1610 is described as representing the ancient deneholes at Tilbury, Essex;<sup>1</sup> and it is certain that none will deny the fact that the opponents of the "chalk-pit" theory have identified the deneholes with the pits at or near Tilbury. From this, it follows that an opinion on deneholes, presumably Camden's, should be found on page 334 of the translation of the *Britannia* made by Philemon Holland and published in 1610, and further that his undoubted opinion is to be found in the edition of 1607 already quoted.<sup>2</sup>

With all this the opponents of the chalk-pit theory must agree, as they have no option. Concerning these pits near Faversham, the only opinion that can be alleged to be that of Camden is that they were the pits out

<sup>1</sup> Report of Denehole Exploration at Hangman's Wood, Grays, page 246.

<sup>2</sup> Camden's *Britannia*, translated by Philemon Holland (1610), page 334. "Feuersham — Nigh thereto, like as elsewhere through this Countie, are found pits of great deapth, which being narrow in the mouth and very spacious beneath have their certaine distinct rowmes or chambers (as it were) with their severall supporting pillars of chalke. Concerning these there are divers opinions. I, for my part, cannot tell what to thinke of them unlesse they were those pits, out of which the Britans in old times digged forth chalke or white marle to dung their grounds withall, as Plinie writeth. *For they found pits*, saith he, *an hundred fote deepe, straight at the mouth, but of great capacity within; like unto these very same of which we now speake.*

"And verily nowhere else are they found but in a chalkie and marly soile. Unless a man would thinke, that our English Saxons digged such caves and holes to the same use and purpose, as the Germans did, of whom they were descended. For they were wont, as Tacitus writeth, *to make holes and caves under the ground*, and those to charge aloft with great heapes of dung, as harbours of refuge for Winter and garners of receipt for corne; because by such like places they mitigate the rigour of cold wether; and if at any time the enemy commeth he wasteth onely the open ground; but as for those things that he hidden and buried under the earth, they are either unknown or in this respect doe disapoint the enimjes for that they are to be sought for."

of which the Britons in old time dug chalk or white marle to dung their land. Further, it is abundantly clear that the alternative opinion was only held by some-one other than Camden himself, and after a careful consideration of the extracts it will be seen that only one opinion was held by him.

There is no possible shadow of doubt that Camden's opinion was simply that deneholes were chalk pits. From first to last he never wavers in giving it as his opinion that the pits near Faversham were chalk pits; from first to last he implies that some others might have held different views on the question, but nowhere in the *Britannia* does he say that the deneholes near Tilbury were of British origin, and were constructed for the purpose of storing corn, as underground granaries. These latter pits near Tilbury, he holds, had a similar origin and purpose to the pits near Faversham, and nowhere in the *Britannia* are the pits of this nature described as deneholes. In fact, the word denehole seems to have been unknown to Camden as a descriptive term for these chalk pits.

"Another age, and other men may daily find out more. It is enough for me to have begun, and I have gained as much as I look for, if I shall draw others into this argument, whether they undertake a new worke or amend this."<sup>1</sup> It is true, very true, that another age and other men may daily find out more and more; yet in certain cases the original hypothesis put forward to account for any given phenomenon may stand practically unshaken after centuries. So long ago as the year 1586, Camden formulated a certain theory regarding those pits which we now know as deneholes. Since that date many theories—wild, absurd, fantastic,—have been advanced to explain their purpose, until now, in this year of grace, the most patient inquiry, the most laborious research only confirms the opinion as to their purpose expressed by Camden over three and a quarter centuries ago.<sup>2</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> Camden's *Britannia*. Holland's translation (1610). Preface.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Forster, Esq., *B. A. A. Journal* (1908), page 95; Rev. J. W. Hayes, *B. A. A. Journal* (1908), page 130; A Criticism of the Hangman's Wood Denehole Report, *B. A. A. Journal* (1908), page 101.

while confirming his view as to their purpose, and decisively crushing the many futile theories of intermediate investigators, none of the authors of the three papers quoted have attempted to deal with the question of precisely what opinion Camden had expressed, with the exception of Mr. Forster, who points out that, although the opponents of the chalk-pit theory have cited Camden in support of their own pet hypothesis, yet they have not cited him with any degree of accuracy. As a matter of actual fact, the opinion they cited comes from such a curious source that one is simply amazed that no trouble was taken to ascertain its accuracy, but furthermore it was not only quoted but was used as a text for an appreciation of the sanity and soundness of Camden's intellect. Upon an examination of the *Gentleman's Magazine*,<sup>1</sup> the opinion which is quoted as Camden's is certainly to be found, and there is no doubt that it is definitely asserted that Camden concluded that the pits near Tilbury were of British origin, and were constructed for the purpose of storing corn as underground granaries. It is perfectly true that Mr. Roach Smith, who wrote the article in question, regards this explanation of their purpose as highly improbable, but he seems to have fallen into an error not by any means uncommon. What he has actually done is to assume that subject-matter added by Gough was to be considered as the expressed opinion of Camden upon the question. Any one having the slightest knowledge of or acquaintance with the various editions of the *Britannia* would never

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine* (1867), page 357. Deneholes.

"Since the days of Camden, the caves on the north shore of the Thames near Tilbury have, now and then, excited the attention of a few of the more active antiquaries, without receiving any satisfactory explanation. Camden concluded that they were of British origin, and were constructed for the purpose of storing corn, as underground granaries."

Page 358: "That many of these pits are of very remote antiquity there can be no doubt, but that they ever served as granaries or as dwelling-places is highly improbable, unless under some very exceptional circumstances."

NOTE—This is the reference given in the passage from the *Essex Naturalist* quoted elsewhere.



have fallen into such an error, and it is of course far more regrettable that this matter should have been published without proper investigation. It will be seen that the wording of that paragraph in the editions of the *Britannia* by Gough<sup>1</sup> is hardly strong enough to even warrant the assertion that the latter gentleman held the opinion that deneholes were British grain stores; and how any one possessed of Mr. Roach Smith's penetration could ever have made such a slip passes all comprehension. As, however, he did make the mistake, a certain proportion of the blame must be credited to him. But why it should have been put forward by the gradually dwindling band who support the refuge-pit-granary theory, without the faintest attempt to verify its accuracy, passes all understanding.

Evidence of this character, if authentic, would of course have been of the utmost importance, as it would, in a measure, have corroborated the conclusions so hastily jumped at by the Exploration Committee of the Hangman's Wood pits; yet here it has been published without the faintest attempt to verify its reliability.

And now let us for one moment examine the situation as it stands. The upholders of the chalk-pit hypothesis have examined the various editions of the *Britannia* in conjunction with the upholders of the granary-refuge pit theory. Step by step they have examined Camden's words, step by step they have agreed that the truth concerning what he wrote is herein set forth. This being the case, the upholders of the granary-refuge pit theory are on the horns of a horrible dilemma. It has been

<sup>1</sup> Camden's *Britannia*. Richard Gough, F.S.A. Printed by John Nichols. MDCCCLXXXIX. British Museum Press-mark, 2063 g. Vol. i, page 52. Essex. Additions by Gough.

"The caverns placed by Mr. C. . . . in Tilbury are in fact in Chadwell parish. Dr. Derham measured three of the most considerable and found one of them 50, another 70 and a third 80 feet deep. The bottom of a soft sand, over the top an arch of 200 Ft. of chalk. They lie within the compass of six acres near the highway leading from Stifford to Chadwell, and in East Tilbury in a field called Cave field is a *horizontal* passage to the cavern. These have been supposed granaries of the antient Britans, retreats of the Danish ravagers, and even King Cunobeline's gold mines."



said by those who do not agree with the chalk-pit theory that Camden was a man of great, sane intellect, and it is hardly conceivable that any man to whom this description has been applied would advance an opinion that was not sane. It does not matter what Camden's opinion was believed to have been; the actual opinion that he held upon this point, as far as can be judged from his writings, has been set forth, and it proves to be simply that deneholes were chalk pits. But the opinion set forth by the opponents of the chalk-pit theory is diametrically opposed to that of Camden. Now, as these two opinions cannot both be sane, since they have no factor in common, the conclusion is obvious that one of them must be the reverse of sane; but it has been stated that the intellect of Camden was great and sane, and that further he possessed peculiar facilities for arriving at a just conclusion upon the point at issue—facilities, moreover, not enjoyed by modern archæologists. It has already been agreed that this was the case, and it has been pointed out that, for a wonder, the two schools of thought were in accord. How, then, can it possibly be agreed that deneholes were anything but chalk pits? And if the opponents of this theory are logical, or if any importance is to be attached to their opinion of Camden, they must still agree with its upholders. How, in short, by any known process can it be agreed that the opinion which was advanced by those who held the granary theory was sane; or, for that matter, how can they still maintain it as a sane proposition? If they do, they must perforce at once admit that their estimate of Camden's intellect and peculiar advantages for acquiring knowledge of old English traditional habits and practices was hopelessly wide of the mark. It does not very much matter which event happens, but a very shrewd suspicion is entertained that the apparent coincidence of view between the two parties will hardly emerge successfully from the strain which this dilemma imposes upon it. The issue cannot be plainer: either Camden's opinions on the purpose for which deneholes were excavated are not worthy of a single moment's serious consideration,

or else our opponents' estimate of their value is not worth the paper on which it is printed.

The situation is somewhat Gilbertian in its humour, for if our opponents discard and deride Camden they must do so simply because he did not write that which they believed him to have written, or rather because he did not write what they understood Mr. Roach Smith to have believed him to have written. On the other hand, should they still maintain that the opinion they have formed regarding the sanity of his intellect is a correct one, then they must either agree that deneholes were chalk pits or say that upon this particular question Camden was perhaps not quite so sane as they had imagined.





## WILFRID'S CHURCH AT HEXHAM.

BY R. H. FORSTER, Esq., M.A., LL.B., HONORARY TREASURER.

*(Read June 17th, 1908.)*



THE site on which the new nave of Hexham Abbey Church has just been built is second to few in historical and archaeological interest. Though the theory that there was a Roman settlement at Hexham is unsupported by evidence, a large number of Roman stones, probably brought from the ruins of Corstopitum, were used by the seventh-century builders in the erection of Wilfrid's Church. That church was described by Eddi, Wilfrid's chaplain, as the finest on this side of the Alps, and after the lapse of more than twelve centuries we are happily able to see some remains of it to-day.

Wilfrid stands in the front rank of the great men who moulded the early history of the English Church, and his record as a church-builder is higher than that of any of his contemporaries. He is said to have founded nine monasteries, one being as far south as Selsea, but his most important work was done in the north: he restored the Minster at York, which had been founded by Eadwine, completed by Oswald, and ruined during the heathen reaction under Penda; he built a church and monastery at Ripon, the still existing crypt there being in all probability part of his work; but his crowning achievement was the erection of the great church at Hexham, which stood for more than six hundred years.

In 674 Wilfrid, being then Bishop of York, received as a gift from Etheldreda, the Queen of Egfrith, King of Northumbria, the district afterwards known as Hexhamshire. It is stated that Etheldreda's intention was that

the place should become the seat of a bishopric, but though this was not carried into effect till a later date, the building of the church and monastery was probably begun without delay. One of Wilfrid's greatest services to his country lay in bringing the hitherto isolated island into closer touch with Continental culture, and here at Hexham his efforts in that direction were most conspicuous and most successful. In 652, at the age of eighteen, Wilfrid had travelled to Rome with Benedict Biscop, and the six years which he spent there must have had immense influence on his artistic taste and ambitions. About six years later he was in France for some time, and probably the more recent memories of the churches he saw in that country had much to do with the design he adopted at Hexham. Certainly he imported skilled workmen from the Continent—from Rome itself, according to William of Malmesbury—and the church was, as the Lanercost chronicler states, *basilica Romano opere insignita*—i.e., it was, like all large churches of that date, modelled on the type of church produced by adaptation or imitation of a Roman basilica.

That this was the case is proved partly by the existing remains and partly by the descriptions of early writers. Eddi, who must have seen the church built, is unfortunately too modest to attempt a detailed account. He speaks of the subterranean part of the building as being composed of stones wonderfully polished, and of a complicated superstructure, supported by varied columns and many porticoes, and remarkable for the length and height of the walls; but as for further particulars, "*non est mea parvitas hoc sermone explicare, neque ullam domum aliam, citra Alpes montes, talem ædificatam audivimus.*" Richard, who became Prior of Hexham in 1141, has left us a more complete but still somewhat vague description, which may be taken as first-hand evidence, since in his day Wilfrid's great Minster was still in use as the conventual church of the Augustinian Priory. Richard must have died some time between 1154 and 1167, and the existing choir cannot be of earlier date than the close of the twelfth century, while the transepts are pure Early English in style. Indeed, it is fairly certain that a large



part of Wilfrid's Minster continued in use as the nave of the conventual church until the Scottish invasion of 1296.

Prior Richard begins by mentioning "crypts, subterranean oratories, and passages" in the lower part or basement of the church. Only one crypt is known to exist at the present time—a small barrel-vaulted chapel, with connected passages, entirely built of Roman stones, many of them with characteristic tooling or ornamentation. It seems to have been approached from the west by stairs leading down from the body of the church, and was probably a *confessio* or place for the exhibition of relics. Such a *confessio*, a little to the west of the high altar, was a common feature of early churches of the basilica type.

Prior Richard next describes the superstructure, and unfortunately his language is not very clear. We can, however, make out that the main building was in three stages—arcade, triforium, and clerestory—and the arcade was composed of columns *quadratae et variae et bene politae*. It is possible that the terms *quadratae et variae* indicate that square piers were alternated with columns of a different design, just as in later times we find Norman architects alternating round and clustered columns, as at Durham and Waltham. The walls, the capitals of the columns, and the *arcus sanctuarii* were richly ornamented with sculpture and painting, exhibiting, according to Prior Richard, a pleasing variety of colours and admirable beauty of form. The *arcus sanctuarii* has generally been taken to mean the arch opening into the apse, but it may possibly refer to the bow or curve of the apse itself, which certainly would not be left without adornment.

The rest of the description is very obscure. Wilfrid, says the Prior, surrounded the *corpus ecclesiae* on all sides *appenditiis et porticibus*, and these latter *per parietes et cochleas inferius et superius distinguit*—he divided them into upper and lower parts. The *appenditia et porticus* may be, or at any rate include, the aisles, and the upper and lower parts may be the aisles proper and the triforium stage over the aisle vaults; but in that case *parietes*

(party walls) and *cochleæ* (stair-turrets) do not seem to be right, as both words denote a vertical and not a horizontal division. I am inclined to think that *inferius et superius* refer to a division of the aisles into eastern and western sections, the latter being considered higher, as being nearer the sanctuary. The stair-turrets forming part of the division would then be in an appropriate place—at either side of the church, about the middle of its length.

In these *cochleæ*, and above them, were stone stairs (*ascensoria ex lapide*) and *deambulatoria*, and various passages, which in some places went up and in some went down. These were so cleverly devised that a large number of people could be stationed there, completely surrounding the *corpus ecclesiæ*, without any one being seen from below. This seems to be a reference to the triforium gallery at either side and to passages in the thickness of the wall at the east and west ends. At the east end, at any rate, the passage would probably have to mount by steps from the triforium level, so as to pass above the arch opening into the apse.

In the *porticus*, which here again seems to mean the aisles, and again in upper and lower divisions, Wilfrid constructed a number of oratories or chapels—*oratoria secretissima et pulcherima*—in which were altars in honour of the Virgin, St. Michael, St. John the Baptist, and the Holy Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins; but at this point of his description Prior Richard unfortunately imitates the modesty of Eddi. “What relics and of what saints,” he says, “and how many religious persons and devout servants of God he gathered together here, and how splendidly and religiously he adorned the interior of the basilica with books, vestments, vessels of all kinds, and other ornaments—*nostræ exiguitatis sermociunculus explicare non sufficit*.” The good Prior finds the task of description beyond his powers; possibly because the splendour came to an end when the Danes sacked and burned Hexham towards the end of the ninth century.

In spite of its vagueness, this account enables us to form some idea of Wilfrid's church, and though to us, who are familiar with the great minsters and cathedrals of a later age, its height and length might seem, if it

were standing to-day, to be less immense than they appeared to Eddi and Prior Richard, there is no doubt that, for so early a date as the seventh century and a place so remote from the centres of civilisation as Tyne-dale, it must have been a very remarkable edifice, and its erection entitles Wilfrid to a place in the first rank of English church-builders.

The subsequent history of Wilfrid's basilica is interesting. After serving as the cathedral of twelve bishops, whose episcopates covered a period of 144 years, the list including such men as Wilfrid himself, John of Beverley, and Acca, the friend and correspondent of Bæda, the church was pillaged and burnt by the Danes in A.D. 875. For a considerable period after that date it must have remained desolate, and we have no record of Hexham till we come to the eleventh century. During this interval Monasticism had become extinct in Northumbria: even the church which Aldhune built at Durham, on the transference of the See from Chester-le-Street, was in the hands of secular canons, who married and were often succeeded by their sons; and one of them, Alured, named *Larwa*, or teacher, sacrist of the church of Durham, held the church of Hexham by gift of Bishop Eadmund, who was Bishop of Durham from 1020 to 1040. Alured is stated to have placed at Hexham a priest named Gamel the Elder, or Gamel Hamel, and afterwards a priest named Gamel the Younger. Alured was succeeded by his son, Eilaf, also styled *Larwa*, Treasurer of the Church of Durham. Eilaf held the Church of Hexham from Egelric (1042 to 1056) and Egelwin (1056 to 1071), Bishops of Durham, and placed there a priest named Sproh. In the time of the latter Bishop, Hexham suffered with the rest of the north from the devastation wrought by William the Conqueror, and the punishment was repeated after the murder of Bishop Walcher in 1080. Walcher's successor, William de St. Carileph, in 1083 replaced the secular canons of Durham by Benedictine monks, and Eilaf seems to have been one of the leading opponents of the change: he lost his position at Durham, and his tenure of the church at Hexham must have become precarious. But the temporal



rule of Hexhamshire had already been assumed by the Archbishop of York, and to him Eilaf turned for protection : he surrendered the church to Archbishop Thomas I, and received a regrant on condition that he restored the building. Hexhamshire, it may be remarked, remained part of the diocese of York till about seventy years ago.

Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx, who was Eilaf's grandson, has left us a description of the place as it then was : the great church was roofless and full of weeds, trees were growing from the walls, and the neighbourhood was so desolate that for nearly two years Eilaf had to support himself and his family by hawking and hunting. This left him no time for restoration, and Eilaf seems to have done little beyond erecting an altar : he soon died, and the Archbishop made the benefice part of the endowment of a prebend in York Minster, which he conferred on a canon of Beverley named Richard de Maton. Richard, however, seems to have been non-resident, and under him another Eilaf, son of Eilaf the Elder, administered the church and received part of the profits of the living.

This second Eilaf seems to have been a person of some energy, and young enough—he had still half a century to live—to cope with difficulties which had baffled his father. He cut down the trees, roofed the whole church with tiles, cleansed and whitewashed the walls within and without, and renewed the ancient paintings. In the eastern part of the church he laid down a pavement of squared stones, and erected an altar, resting on columns, in a suitable position ; he disinterred the relics of the saints of Hexham and placed them above the altar of St. Michael "*in porticu australi*," probably in one of the side chapels of the south aisle. In another chapter Aelred mentions an *orientalis ecclesie porticus, ubi beati Petri apostoli memoria frequentabatur*.

Eilaf continued to act as priest of Hexham for a number of years, but eventually, according to Aelred, the care of the relics became too grave a source of anxiety, and he asked Thomas II, who became Archbishop of York in 1108, to make the church a collegiate foundation. The first step was taken in 1113, when Richard de Maton



surrendered his rights and received compensation : the Archbishop sent two canons, one from York and one from Beverley, to be the first canons of Hexham, and Eilaf built the necessary buildings—probably of wood—with his own hands. But Thomas II died in the following year, leaving the foundation incomplete, and Eilaf continued to enjoy a large part of the revenues. Thomas was succeeded by the great Archbishop Thurstan, and it was he who changed the foundation from a secular to an Augustinian house, bringing Asketill from the monastery of Huntingdon to be the first Prior of Hexham.

An Augustinian house it continued to be till the Dissolution, and for many years the canons had no other church but Wilfrid's restored minster. Even when, as their wealth increased, they were able to erect the still existing choir and transepts, the bulk of Wilfrid's church seems to have been left standing, to do duty as the nave ; in all probability it remained in use till the Scottish invasion of 1296, when, for the first time since 875, the peace of Hexham was violated and the monastery burnt. This disaster, followed by many others during the reign of Edward II, sadly impoverished the house, especially as its chief source of distinction—the relics of its sainted Bishops—were destroyed. There is no written record of what took place, but it seems probable that what remained of the old seventh-century structure was taken down and the materials used in the reconstruction of the conventual buildings : in the remains of the latter, Roman stones are common, while none occur in the choir and transepts, which must have been finished before 1296. An effort was made at some time during the fourteenth century to build a new nave of the type frequently adopted by the Augustinians—*i.e.*, with only a north aisle, as at Lanercost and Brinkburn ; but little was done, and the work has had to wait till the twentieth century for completion.

Researches made in connection with the building of this new nave have brought to light many facts of great archaeological interest. The foundations of the north wall of Wilfrid's minster have been traced, and portions of the west end have been found ; but the most impor-

tant discovery has recently been made by Mr. J. P. Gibson, and consists of the remains of the apse, standing in some parts three courses high. These remains were found under the pavement of the choir, a short distance eastward of the rood screen, together with several shallow interments which had been made—presumably in pre-Conquest times—close to the outside of the wall. The apse has been 13 ft. 9 in. long from west to east, and 10 ft. 9 in. wide, both these measurements being internal; the walls are 2 ft. 7 in. thick, where they join the main east wall of the church, and thin to 2 ft. 2 in. on the curve at the east end. It will be seen from the figures given that the apse has been longer than a plain semicircle; it might, in fact, be described as a stilted semicircle. The original pavement of cobbles was discovered, and at a higher level were the remains of a pavement of square stones: these must represent the work of the younger Eilaf at the end of the eleventh century. Several stone grave-covers were found close by, three of them having a socket-hole on the top—apparently for wooden crosses: this is a type of grave-cover which possibly has not been met with before. I am informed by Mr. Gibson that Canon Greenwell has not seen any other covers of this kind.

The discovery of this apse is an event of the utmost importance. Here we have the remains of the actual sanctuary of one of the largest churches erected in this country in pre-Norman times: these stones were laid when the Venerable Bede was an infant, and only forty years after Oswald defeated Cadwallon, the Welsh ally of Penda, the heathen King of Mercia, at the battle of Heavenfield, a few miles to the north, and thereby determined the religion of Northumbria and the supremacy of the English race; and we can now identify the actual spot where some of the greatest of English Churchmen sat enthroned as Bishops of Hexham. I am glad to say that this priceless relic of the beginnings of the English Church is to be preserved, and that, when the work now in progress is completed, it will remain open to inspection by ourselves and our successors.

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HEXHAM ABBEY: SEVENTH CENTURY APSE.

*(From a Photo. by J. P. Gillman.)*





# British Archaeological Association.

## SIXTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONGRESS.

### CARLISLE, 1908.

MONDAY, JULY 13TH, TO SATURDAY, JULY 18TH, 1908.

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## Proceedings of the Congress.

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The Sixty-Fifth Annual Congress of the Association was held at Carlisle, under the presidency of Mr. Charles E. Keyser, M.A., F.S.A. The "land of Carlisle," as it is frequently styled in mediæval documents, had never before been visited by the Association, and the Congress was accordingly one of great interest, especially to those who attended the Weymouth Congress in 1907, and were thus able to compare the scenery and archæological remains of two widely sundered and dissimilar districts.

The site of Carlisle occupies a tongue of land enclosed by the Eden on the north, the Caldew on the west, and the Peteril on the east. Throughout historical times it has been a position of great importance, as commanding the western line of communication between England and Scotland, and to some extent it retains its position as a great centre of traffic to the present day. Whether any part of the town was the site of a settlement in pre-Roman times it is impossible to say, though the natural elevation on which the mediæval castle was built may possibly have been occupied in prehistoric days; but there is ample evidence of its importance during the Roman period, when it bore the name of *Luguvallum*, and formed one of the *mansiones* on the second of the Antonine *itineræ*. Lying, as it does, just to the south of the Wall of the lower isthmus, and on one of the great lines of communication with the south, *Luguvallum* corresponds in point of position with *Corstopitum*, and was probably the distributing centre for the western half of the Wall district and the fortresses of the Cumberland coast. The Wall itself passes to the north of Carlisle—by Stanwix on the opposite bank of the Eden, where there was a fort, the Roman name of which cannot at present be determined, down the steep scarp by Hyssop Holm well, across the flat land which now lies between the town and the river, and so westward by Kirk Andrews, Beaumont, Burgh-upon-Sands, and Drumburgh, to Bowness-on-Solway.

During the period immediately following the Roman occupation,

the "land of Carlisle"<sup>1</sup> seems to have formed part of the Celtic kingdom of Strathclyde, but it has practically no recorded history: the district has its Arthurian legends, but it is impossible to find in them any historical basis. By the latter part of the seventh century Carlisle had fallen into English hands: Egfrith, King of Northumbria (A.D. 670 to 685) gave St. Cuthbert, then Bishop of Lindisfarne, spiritual jurisdiction over the "land of Carlisle," and endowed him with the city itself and as much adjacent land as measured fifteen miles in circuit.

In 685 Egfrith and almost his entire army perished at Nechtansmere, in a battle with the Picts, whom they had pursued into Fife, and the supremacy of Northumbria came to an end. Carlisle, however, seems for a time at least to have remained an English town, but in 876 it was plundered and burnt by the Danes under Halfdene, and probably lay in ruins for a considerable period. Later the district appears as a separate Celtic kingdom, under the rule of Dunmail, "last King of rocky Cumberland," who in 945 was defeated and slain by the English King Eadmund. The latter granted Cumbria to Malcolm I of Scotland as a fief, but it was not then regarded as a part of England.

The history of Carlisle for the next hundred and fifty years is very obscure, but shortly after the Norman Conquest the district was in the hands of Dolfin, son of Gospatric, once Earl of Northumberland. In 1092, as we learn from the Saxon Chronicle, William Rufus "went northward with a large army to Caerluel and repaired the city, built the castle, and drove out Dolfin: . . . and having placed a garrison in the castle, returned south, and sent a great number of churlish folk thither with wives and cattle, that they might settle there and till the land." Thus, and not until the date just mentioned, Cumberland became an integral part of England. David of Scotland obtained possession of it in the reign of Stephen, but it was recovered in the third year of Henry II.

The city of Carlisle has had a memorable history, and is specially remarkable for the number of sieges it has sustained: it has the distinction, never (let us hope) to be lost, of being the last English town to be so taken. But its chequered and romantic story is too long to be

<sup>1</sup> This expression covers the northern part of Cumberland, between the Solway and the Derwent, and the whole of the Eden valley. This district formed the diocese of Carlisle until 1856, when the rest of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and the Furness district, which had previously formed part of the diocese of Chester, and before the reign of Henry VIII of York, were added.

set out here. An admirable account of it has been given by the late Chancellor Ferguson.<sup>1</sup>

### MONDAY, JULY 13TH.

The first place visited was the Cathedral, which was described by Chancellor Prescott.

It has been supposed that the site on which the Cathedral stands was devoted to religious uses long before the erection of the earliest portion of the existing building, but there is no definite evidence to support the theory. Bæda mentions the existence of a nunnery at Carlisle in the time of St. Cuthbert, who, according to Symeon of Durham, founded a monastery there.<sup>2</sup> In the reign of William Rufus, Walter the Norman began to build a church in Carlisle, but he seems to have died before it was completed. In 1102 Henry I founded an Augustinian house, and brought Aethelwulf from Nostell, in Yorkshire, to be its first prior. In 1133 the same King made the "land of Carlisle" a separate bishopric, and Aethelwulf became the first of the line of prelates who have held the See.

To turn to the existing structure, we have two bays of a Norman nave with aisles, the other six bays having been destroyed by the Scots under Lesley in 1645. The masonry is more remarkable for an appearance of solidity and strength than for any special characteristic of design. The south transept, the lower stage of the tower, and parts of the north transept are of the same period, and originally each transept had an apsidal chapel on its eastern face. The Norman choir seems to have been very small—only about 80 ft. in length, with an apsidal termination. This soon proved too cramped, and about the middle of the thirteenth century a more spacious choir with aisles was commenced. Whether this choir was ever completed it is impossible to say; but in any event it was almost completely destroyed by the terrible fire which occurred in A.D. 1292, and also involved part of the north transept. The latter was probably repaired immediately, but funds for the restoration of the choir came in slowly, and it was not till towards the close of the reign of Edward III that

<sup>1</sup> *A History of Cumberland*, by Richard S. Ferguson, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A. London, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Dunelm*, xi, 6: "Probandæ sanctitatis viro Eadredo, qui ab eo quod in Luel, in monasterio ab ipso Cuthberto instituto, educatus officium abbatis gesserit, Lulisc cognominabatur." In the anonymous *Historia de S. Cuthberto* (Surtees Soc. Publ., vol. li, p. 143) Eadred is styled "abbas de Luerchestre"; this is certainly a corruption of *Luelchestre*, and must denote Carlisle.





AMEROGLANNA. SOUTH WALL OF FORT.

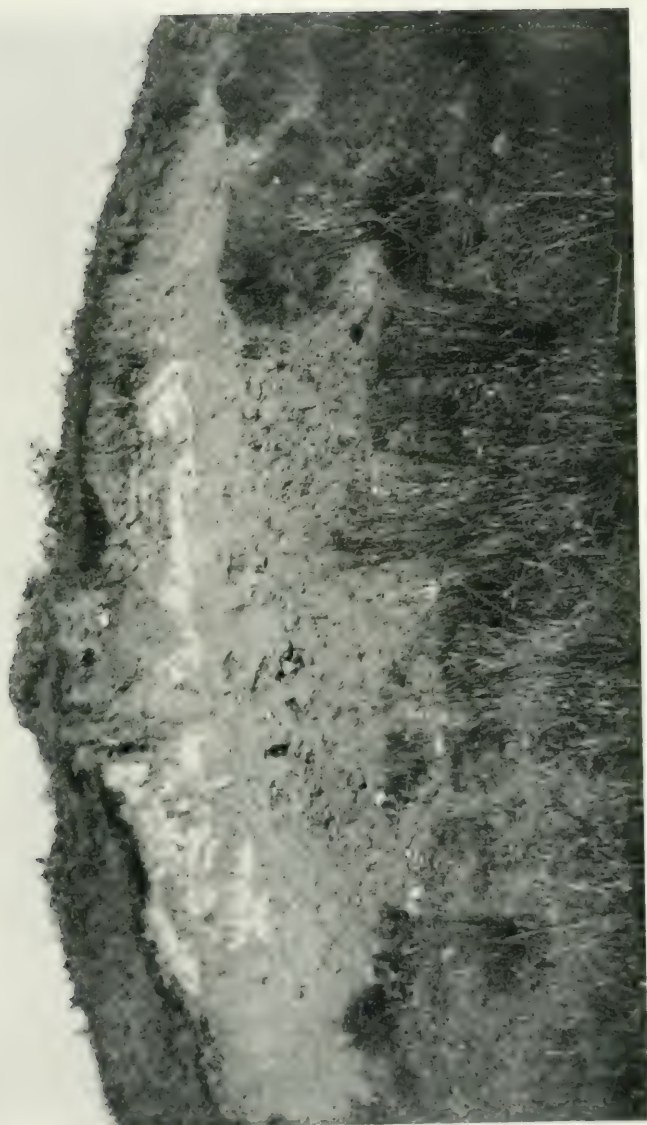




AMBOQLANNA: EAST GATE.







SECTION OF TURF WALL AT APLETHUR.



the building, as it now exists, was completed. A hundred years after the fire of 1292 another conflagration broke out, which, however, only slightly affected the fabric of the Cathedral, the damage being confined to the front of the north transept, which was repaired early in the fifteenth century. The great east window is a magnificent specimen, and well repays a careful examination; the upper part is glazed with fragments of the original stained glass, some of which are very remarkable. A good fifteenth-century brass remains in the choir, and there are one or two monumental effigies of more than passing interest.

The party then proceeded to the castle, which was inspected, by kind permission of Major G. Brown, under the guidance of Mr. J. H. Martindale.

The Castle of Carlisle stands on the high ground formed by a bluff of red sandstone rock to the north of the city. The site is roughly triangular in shape, and on the south a broad and deep fosse divides it from the town. The castle, however, formed part of the general defensive scheme of the place, the wall of the town joining up with the castle walls at the east and west angles. The outer and larger ward was entered through a gatehouse, known as Ireby's Tower, a drawbridge originally spanning the fosse on the south. The inner ward lies to the east of the outer, and is separated from it by a curtain, which has another gatehouse, called the Captain's Tower, about the centre of its length. Formerly this curtain had a fosse of its own, crossed by a second drawbridge, but all traces of these have long since vanished.

Within the inner ward is the keep, a rectangular building, measuring about 66 ft. by 61 ft., and now standing about 68 ft. high; there is no batter to the walls, but their thickness has been reduced by an external offset on each face, which curiously occurs at different levels. There is a high, stepped plinth, from which rise pilasters, two on each face, about 12 ft. wide and of 1 ft. projection. The upper portion of the keep has been much modified at various periods, more particularly by the removal of the parapets and the addition of vaulting to the upper story, in order to carry guns. Internally the building has been much altered at various times, but enough remains to show generally what the arrangements were. In a mural chamber on the east side, over the present entrance, there are many curious carvings on the walls, probably executed by prisoners confined there. They include many examples of the Percy badges, the crescent and the fetterlocks, and it is noticeable that in all cases the crescent is reversed. The well of the keep has its shaft taken up in the north wall; and when the keep was

utilised as a prison, a hole was cut into the shaft from the exterior, to render the well available for the use of the garrison.

Only one fragment of the domestic buildings remains in the inner ward. It consists of a piece of panelled masonry, and probably formed part of the shell of a staircase of early fourteenth-century date.

In the afternoon the members travelled by rail to Abbey Town station, and visited the remains of Holm Cultram Abbey, which were described by the Rev. W. Baxter, M.A.

This once important Cistercian Abbey was founded by Henry, son of David I, King of Scotland, who gave to the Abbot and monks of Holm Cultram two-thirds of Holmcoltria; the remaining third had previously been granted to Alan, son of Waldeff, who afterwards devised it to the abbey. The exact date of the foundation is a matter of some doubt, but there seems to be no valid reason for rejecting the testimony of the *Chronica de Mailros*, which places it at A.D. 1150.<sup>1</sup>

Recent excavations, which have been described in the *Journal*,<sup>2</sup> have determined with accuracy the plan and dimensions of the Abbey Church. It consisted of a nave of nine bays with aisles, north and south transepts with eastern aisles divided into chapels, a short aisleless presbytery, and a central tower at the crossing. The total length appears to have been 272 ft. 6 in., as compared with the 256 ft. which was the length of the Norman priory church of Carlisle.

The remains of the church at present preserved consist of the west porch and six bays of the nave. The aisles have been destroyed, the arcading built up, and a flat plaster ceiling constructed. The west door is a fine specimen of Transition Norman work, and remains in a good state of preservation. The porch was built by Abbot Robert Chambre early in the sixteenth century, but an upper story or parvise has been added, probably in the eighteenth.

One noteworthy personage stands out in the history of the abbey towards the end of the thirteenth century. Michael Scot, the philosopher, traveller, author, and sometime wizard, came to Holm Cultram to spend his last days there as a monk. Many a picturesque and impossible legend has grown up round the personality of this remarkable man. As a wandering student he had visited Oxford, Paris, Salamanca, and Toledo, acquiring, no doubt, a vast amount of the learning attainable at the period, more especially in connection with alchemy, astrology, and other so-called occult sciences. Melrose, Glenluce, and Holm Cultram all have some claim to be considered his

<sup>1</sup> Henry died in 1152.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xii, New Series, pp. 139, 284; vol. xiii, pp. 70, 126.



last resting-place, but it is not likely that the question will ever be decided.

In the evening the Mayor of Carlisle and Mrs. Donald gave a reception at the Tullie House Museum, and the members of the Congress were extremely gratified by the warm and graceful hospitality extended towards them. The museum itself is a place of great interest, being particularly rich in carved and inscribed stones, pottery, bronzes, and other objects of the Roman period, most of which were found in Carlisle or the Roman stations of the district.

## TUESDAY, JULY 14TH.

The starting point of the excursion arranged for this day was Gilsland, which lies close to the eastern boundary of Cumberland. The first place visited was the Vicarage garden, by kind invitation of the Rev. W. Bird, where a portion of the Roman Wall is to be seen, as well as some centurial stones, a small carved cap, and a few querns.<sup>1</sup> Traces of a mile-castle are visible between the railway and the point at which the Wall crosses the Poltross Burn. To the west of the Vicarage garden the line of the Wall traverses a stretch of flat land till it comes to the River Irthing, which has probably changed its course since Roman times, so that no traces are visible of the manner in which the stream was bridged, while the steep slope of the western bank has fallen away. On the brink of the slope a few courses of the Wall are visible, and the line can easily be traced to the adjacent fortress of Amboglanna (Birdoswald).

This fortress, which was visited under the guidance of Mr. J. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., occupies one of the strongest positions on the line of the Wall and is the largest of the Wall stations,<sup>2</sup> measuring about 200 yds. on the east and west sides and 135 yds. on the north and south. The complete fort was similar in plan to Cilurnum, except that here the Wall forms the northern defence instead of abutting against the east and west walls of the fort. Like Cilurnum, it has two eastern and two western gates, in addition to gates on the north and south, the more northerly in each case having been a double-arched entrance. The larger of the two east gateways is in

<sup>1</sup> We cannot but regret that these relics are not placed under cover, as in their present position their gradual destruction by the weather is inevitable.

<sup>2</sup> MacLachlan gives its area as about five and a half acres, and that of the station at Bowness-on-Solway as about the same. His measurements, however, make the latter slightly smaller. Cilurnum covers about five and a quarter acres, and Bercovicus about five.

a very fair state of preservation, the springer of the arch being still in position on the north side of the northern opening. From the north gateway a Roman road ran across the moors to Bewcastle and beyond. The name "Maiden Way" is usually given to this as well as to the road between Kirby Thore and Carvoran, but the assumption that the one is a continuation of the other appears to be no more than a modern conjecture.

At Appletree, a short distance to the west of Birdoswald, the remains of the Turf Wall were inspected at a point where a cart-road cuts through the rampart. The lines of carbonaceous matter clearly denoted a method of construction similar to that employed in the case of the Antonine Wall; the latter, however, has a foundation course of flat stones, which does not appear here.<sup>1</sup>

From Appletree the line of the Wall was followed for about two miles, but at Banks the road diverged to the south, and a steep descent brought the party to Lanercost Priory, which is pleasantly situated in the Irthing valley, less than a mile to the south of the Wall. The remains were described by the Rev. T. H. Willis.

This Priory, which was an Augustinian house, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene—a dedication said to be of rare occurrence in Cumberland—was founded by Robert, son of Hubert de Vallibus (or Vaux) of Gilsland, in or about the year 1169. It has often been stated that the Priory was founded in expiation of the murder by Robert de Vaux of Gilles Bueth, the son of the English owner of the Barony of Gilsland, at a meeting arranged for the purpose of settling outstanding disputes; but the story is pure legend, unsupported by any evidence. The foundation charter is of interest, as in it the Wall is mentioned as a boundary.

The history of Lanercost is largely a tale of sufferings at the hands of the Scots. In 1296 it shared the fate of Hexham Priory and the nunnery of Lambley, and the invasion was repeated in the following year, as well as on other occasions during the disastrous reign of Edward II. It was more than once visited by Edward I, who, with Queen Eleanor, spent a short time here towards the end of 1280; the same King paid a short visit to the Priory about midsummer of the year 1300, on his way to the siege of Caerlaverock, and here he resided from Michaelmas, 1306, to Easter of the following year, when he proceeded to Carlisle, and so to Burgh-upon-Sands, where he died. It was during this last visit that the King sentenced Thomas de Bruce to be drawn, hanged, and beheaded at Carlisle.

<sup>1</sup> For a fuller account of the Turf Wall, see *Journal*, vol. xii, New Series, p. 278.

From the calamities of the second Edward's reign the North of England recovered very slowly, and as late as 1409 we find an indulgence of forty days granted to all who contributed money or goods towards the repair of the Priory or the maintenance of the canons. No allegations were made against the house at the royal visitation which preceded the Dissolution, and its last Prior, John Robinson, retired on a pension of £8 a year; but probably it was involved in the outbreak known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, which for a time postponed the suppression of the northern monasteries, and it is specifically mentioned in the letter of instructions which Henry VIII sent to the Duke of Norfolk.

"Finally, forasmuche as all thise troubles have ensued by the sollicitation and traitorous conspiracyes of the monkes and chanons of those parties: we desire and pray you, at your repaire to Salleye, Hexham, Newminster, Leonerde-coste, Sainete Agathe, and all suche other places as have made any maner of resistance, or in any wise conspired, or kept their houses with any force, sithens th<sup>e</sup> appointment at Danestre, you shall, without pitie or circumstance, now that our baner is displayed, cause all the monkes and chanons, that be in anywise faultie, to be tyed up, without further delaye or ceremony, to the terrible exemple of others."<sup>1</sup>

It seems to be a reasonable inference that the canons of Lanercost had taken some part in the outbreak, but had remained quiet after the pardon granted at Doncaster in December, 1536.

After the Dissolution the site of the Priory was leased to Sir William Penison, but this arrangement was not regarded with favour by the Dacres, and a dispute arose, which was terminated in 1542 by a grant of the premises to Thomas Dacre of Lanercost, with the exception of the church, churchyard, and "Utter Gate House," which were reserved as the parish church and burial ground and the Vicar's residence respectively.

The nave, which is still used as the parish church, has a fine Early English west front, and is, like many Augustinian churches, without a south aisle. The choir and transepts are roofless, but well preserved; the architecture is plain, but the warm red of the stone makes the building exceedingly picturesque. Some remains of the monastic buildings exist to the south of the nave, but a great part of them has been adapted to modern uses.

To the south of the Lanercost Priory is Naworth Castle, the seat of the Earl of Carlisle, built on a tongue of land formed by the junction of two small streams with precipitous banks. The position is one of natural strength, and little labour would have been required to render it practically impregnable except in the event of a prolonged

<sup>1</sup> Sources Soc. Publ., vol. 44, c. 111.

siege. Within the park, just by the entrance from the road, is a small earthwork known as Tower Tye, but time did not permit of more than a cursory inspection. It has been variously described as a Neolithic, Bronze Age, or Danish camp, but, to judge by the plan, does not appear to belong to any of these periods.<sup>1</sup>

It is by no means easy to fix the period during which the oldest part of Naworth Castle was built. The earliest documentary evidence appears to be the licence to crenellate which was granted to Ranulph de Dacre in 1335. This Ranulph had in 1313 married Margaret, heiress of the Multons,<sup>2</sup> and so came into possession of the barony of Gilsland. Up to 1280 or thereabouts the principal seat of the barony was at Irthington, and as the Multons are said to have mostly resided on their Lincolnshire estates, it seems improbable that they carried out any important building work in the north. In 1323 a truce was made with Scotland, that stipulated 'that no new strongholds were to be erected and no existing castles repaired, with a proviso that any actually in course of construction might be completed, Ranulph de Dacre being appointed one of the conservators of the treaty. In 1333 occurred the great Douglas raid into Gilsland, and, as there is no mention of any attack on a fortress, it may perhaps be inferred that Irthington was in a ruinous state and the building of Naworth not yet begun. It therefore seems not unreasonable to assume that the latter castle was built during the years immediately following this incursion.<sup>3</sup> Of course, it is possible that a pele-tower was in existence when the licence to crenellate was granted, but an examination of the Dacre

<sup>1</sup> "A circular entrenchment, commanding a most extensive prospect. . . . The diameter of this work in the interior is about 50 yards; it has two encircling ramparts and a ditch between them; the outer rampart is low and nearly obliterated, and the ditch nearly filled up in some places. There is no appearance of an entrance. . . . There is a mark in the eastern side of the enclosure, as of a building within the area."—Maclauchlan, 1858.

<sup>2</sup> The story of the match is romantic. The marriage was arranged when the pair were children, but in the lifetime of her father Margaret was betrothed to the heir of the Cliffords, and on her father's death she was committed to the guardianship of the Earl of Warwick. The rest of the story may be told in the words of Lord William Howard:—

"Pat. 28 Oct. A<sup>c</sup> II. Ed. II. Ranulph de Dacre pardoned for stealing awai in the night out of the King's custody from his Castell of Warwick of Margaret, daughter and heir of Thomas of Molton of Gilsland, who helde of ye Kinge *in capite*, and was within age, whearof the sayd Ranulphe standeth indighted *in curia regis*."

<sup>3</sup> It must, however, be remembered that the silence of the records is not conclusive. Raids of this kind were made by mobile bodies, whose object was plunder, and who would not attempt a serious siege. The Chronicle of Lanercost states that the truce of 1323 was for thirteen years, but it was broken in 1327.



Tower shows no ground for the opinion that any part of it was constructed much before 1335.

The next owner of Naworth who seems to have done much building work here was Lord Thomas Dacre, who was Warden of the Marches in the early years of the reign of Henry VIII. He rebuilt the upper part of the Dacre Tower and repaired the domestic offices which had fallen into disrepair. He also constructed or rebuilt the curious work known as Lord William Howard's Tower, which may be ascribed to the early part of the sixteenth century. Of the same date are the Hall, Gatehouse, and sundry other offices, many of which were removed in 1844, when the castle was largely remodelled after the fire which occurred in that year. The successors of Lord Thomas Dacre seem to have resided mainly at Kirkoswald, and after the death of Lord George in 1569, Naworth is said to have been untenanted for over thirty years; in 1588-9 it is described as being "in very great decay in all parts and the outhouses and other houses and offices utterlie decayed." Lord William Howard, by his marriage with Lady Elizabeth Dacre, sister and co-heiress of Lord George, became owner of Naworth, and to him is largely due the present domestic character of the building.

#### WEDNESDAY, JULY 15TH.

Penrith was the base of this day's excursion, and the first object visited was the castle, which stands about two hundred yards from the town: apparently it has never been a building of any great military importance, and the remains are chiefly noticeable for the excellent quality of the masonry. The plan is rectangular, and consists of a space measuring about 130 ft. by 153 ft., enclosed by a curtain wall about 30 ft. high and 5 ft. thick: there are traces of the various buildings which once occupied the enclosure, the position of the hall being clearly indicated. Outside the curtain on the south-east is a well-defined fosse, which has evidently returned along the other faces of the curtain; on the south-west, however, there are indications of a double fosse, while on the counterscarp of the single fosse already mentioned there are considerable traces of a bank or exterior rampart of earth. A peculiarity, for which it is difficult to account, is the very wide space left between the foot of the curtain and the edge of the scarp of the fosse: this is particularly noticeable towards the north-east. The curtain wall is at present capped by a corbel-table, on which the parapets were carried, while at certain points the corbels are of greater projection and have formed machicolations: at the east angle there is evidence that a bartizan turret, projecting on corbels, once

existed. All traces of the entrance have disappeared, but from the configuration of the earthworks it seems probable that it was in the north-east curtain, close to the east angle. On the extant evidence, it seems probable that the castle was built at the very end of the fourteenth century, and there is no reason to suppose that any mediæval work preceded it. It has been suggested that a Roman station may have occupied the space enclosed by the fosse, but no remains have been found to warrant the conclusion. On the whole, it seems probable that this building was the mantlet of stone and lime for which a licence to crenellate was granted in 22 Richard II.

The party then drove to Brougham Castle, which stands on the south bank of the Eamont, that river forming the boundary between Cumberland and Westmoreland. Traces of a Roman station, which was probably the *Brocarum* of the second *Iter*, exist in the adjacent field.

Of the pre-Conquest owners of Brougham little or nothing is known. The site seems to have been included in the grant of the land of Carlisle which Ranulf Meschines obtained, either during the last eight years of William Rufus or in the reign of Henry I. From his descendants it passed at a later date to the Morvilles; and in 1171 it was seized, with other property of the family, by Henry II in consequence of the part taken in the murder of Becket by Hugh de Morville. Gospatric, son of Orm, was given the custody of the land thus seized; but in 1204 King John granted the barony of Appleby<sup>1</sup> to Robert, son of William de Veteriponte, or Vipount, and Maud his wife, who was a daughter of Hugh de Morville. With this family the estate remained till 1264 or 1265, when the last male heir was killed: he had taken the side of Simon de Montfort, and his estates were forfeited, but restored a year later to his two daughters, of whom the elder married Roger de Clifford, and brought him Brougham Castle as part of her moiety of the barony; the other moiety also came to the Cliffords at a later date, on the death without issue of the younger sister. The heirs male of the Cliffords failed in 1643, but the last of the family, the famous Countess of Pembroke, held Brougham till her death in 1676, when her estates passed to her grandson, the Earl of Thanet.

In plan the castle may be described as a somewhat irregular four-sided figure, comprising a single court or ward, the keep, and a curious double gatehouse. The hall and domestic buildings stood against the south and extended for a short distance along the east wall; the rest of the court is enclosed by a curtain wall, with a strong postern tower at the south-west angle. The entrance gateways abut on the north

<sup>1</sup> Also called the Honour or Barony of Westmoreland. It included so much of the county as was once part of the land of Carlisle.

side of the keep, and the group consists of an outer and an inner gatehouse with an open courtyard between. The outer gateway has a plain segmental headed arch on its outer face, and was defended by a portcullis and a pair of massive doors: above the arch is a small square stone, bearing the inscription in raised letters—THYS . MADE . ROGER, but it is not in its original position. This gatehouse was probably the work of Roger de Clifford the first, and belongs to the latter part of the thirteenth century. The inner gatehouse, which fills the space to the north-west corner of the keep, is a vaulted structure and probably dates from the early part of the fourteenth century.

The members then returned to Penrith and visited the Giant's Grave and Giant's Thumb in the churchyard. The former is composed of the remains of two pre-Conquest cross-shafts, one at the head and the other at the foot, the space between them being enclosed by three "hog backs," one of which has been split longitudinally. The Thumb is a battered cross-shaft, with the lower half of the wheel-head still remaining. It is said that it was used for a number of years as the common whipping-post of the town, the hands of the sufferer being passed through the holes pierced in the head and tied on the reverse side. In the church are a few not uninteresting fragments of stained glass, which have evidently come from an earlier edifice.

In the afternoon King Arthur's Round Table and Mayburgh were visited. The former consists of a circular space enclosed by a rampart of earth, which has a fosse on its interior side, and between the scarp of the fosse and the foot of the rampart is a berm, varying in width from about 6 ft. to 20 ft. There are no traces of anything in the nature of a stone circle: but in the central space, which is enclosed by the fosse, there is evidence of what has clearly been some sort of raised platform, about 1 ft. in height and approximately 35 ft. in diameter. On the south side there is a well-preserved way, which passes through the rampart and across the fosse as a causeway. Camden, who gives a plan of the earthwork in one of the later editions of the *Britannia*, shows a similar causeway on the opposite side of the enclosure, but this has been since obliterated by the construction of a modern road. In order satisfactorily to determine the age and purpose of this earthwork, excavation is necessary and speculation is useless, as although it presents certain features which have been noted elsewhere in structures which have been investigated and approximately dated, there are other features which point to something in the nature of a reconstruction or adaptation to a new purpose, and on this account it is wiser to await the verdict of the spade.

Not far from King Arthur's Round Table stands Mayburgh, a



circular enclosure surrounded by a single rampart, largely composed of waterworn stones. There are very faint traces of a fosse, but this has been almost completely filled in. Here again spade-work is urgently needed to clear up several points, and speculation is valueless. Near the centre of the enclosure a standing stone of considerable size has been erected. For a long period it appears to have been used as a rubbing-post for cattle; but both site and stone have, of course, been assigned to the Druids, with the usual consequences in the way of the invention of picturesque rites and ceremonies. The whole legend appears to have been fabricated by Stukeley, and there appears to be no evidence that the stone was in position prior to the middle of the eighteenth century. For those who desire definite information as to the age and purpose of Mayburgh, there is only one course to be pursued—they must dig.

Barton Church, which is about two miles from Mayburgh in the direction of Ulleswater, was the last place visited, and it proved to be a building of no small interest. It seems probable that it originally consisted of an early twelfth-century nave, the original walls being taken down and the existing arcades constructed in the thirteenth century. The present chancel was partly erected about the middle of the sixteenth century, or possibly later. The original narrow tower arch has been treated in a curious fashion, in order to make a wider passage between the chancel and the nave: its lower portion has been cut away, and a relieving arch of much wider span inserted to carry the remaining portions of the jambs and the tower walls. The effect is very singular, and it may be conjectured that the alteration was made at some date during the seventeenth or the eighteenth century, unless the moulding round the arch has been reworked. This, however, is not likely, as it exactly agrees with the moulding round a small walled-up door on the outside of the north aisle of the nave.

#### THURSDAY, JULY 16TH.

On this day, when fine weather was most particularly needed for the long drive to Bewcastle, it poured in torrents, and most of the members were obliged to omit the afternoon part of the programme, though a few braved the weather and visited Irthington.

Bewcastle is a terribly isolated spot, hidden away amongst a wilderness of hills and moors which forms the extreme north corner of Cumberland, and only to be reached by a drive of at least twelve miles; but there was the Cross to be seen, and that alone compensated for almost any discomfort. On a platform of slight elevation above the Kirk Beck stand a Roman camp, a seventh-century cross, the remains



of a mediæval castle, and a sadly modernised church. The Roman camp, which covers about four acres, is hexagonal in shape, this departure from the usual Roman practice having obviously been made on account of the nature of the ground. It is connected with Amboglanna by a road which continues in a northerly direction till it is lost among the moors. The camp, we believe, has never been explored, and would probably repay excavation. It has yielded a few inscriptions, one of which<sup>1</sup> seems to indicate the restoration of a temple to Jupiter Dolichenus.

Within the lines of the Roman camp stand the remains of a mediæval castle. The masonry is of an extremely rough description, and the stone has mostly been quarried from the walls and buildings of the earlier Roman work. The site of the castle is surrounded by a clearly-marked fosse of considerable proportions, and the place must have been of some importance during the latter part of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. There is nothing in the building itself which supplies any exact clue to the date of its erection, but probably it may be assigned to the early years of the fourteenth century. If we take historical events into account, we may perhaps further limit the date to the period between the great raids of 1296 and 1297 and the death of Edward I in 1307.

In the churchyard, to the south of the castle, stands the famous Cross. The head is gone, but there still remains the wonderful carved shaft, which has weathered the storms of more than twelve hundred years, and still stands as the memorial of a dead king and a dead art on the spot where it was raised by HWÆTRED, WOTHGAR, and OLFWOLTHU, that future generations might bear in mind the name of ALCFRITH the King and pray for the repose of his soul.

On the west face of the shaft, cut in low relief, are three figures, each in its own compartment, one above the other and separated by the plain rune-cut faces of the shaft. At the base, enclosed in a semicircular-headed panel, is a kingly figure, presumably of Alefrith, garbed in robes of peace, and raising on the left hand a falcon from its perch. Above, in runes, is the following inscription:—

✚ THIS SIG-BEKN :	THIS VICTORY STANDARD
THUN . SETTON	TALL SET UP
HWÆTRED WOTH	HWÆTRED WOTH-
GAR OLFWOL-	GAR OLFWOL
THU AFT ALCFERI-	THU FOR ALCFERI-
THU EAN CYNING	TH LATE KING.
EAC OSWIG	AND SON OF OSWY
✚ GEBID HE	PRAY FOR
(O) SIN(S)A SOWHULA	? HIS SOUL.

<sup>1</sup> *Liquid Septent.* No. 741. *Holmer Inscr. Brit. Lat.* No. 276.

Over the runes is another panel, also semicircular-headed, containing a draped figure of Christ, with His right hand raised to bless, in His left hand a scroll or rolled book, and a glory round His head : above is cut His name, GESSUS KRISTTUS. Higher yet, set in a square-headed panel, is the figure of a saint holding a lamb, and then comes the fractured edge, showing where the cross head once completed the monument. The other sides of the shaft show flower-work, interlacing scroll-work with birds and squirrels, and a curious panel of chequer-work. On the south side is another inscription in runes recording the date of erection—the first year of King Ecgfrith (A.D. 671).

Irthington Church and Moot Hill were visited in the course of the return journey by a few who braved the weather. The church, which is largely built of Roman stones, contains some good Transition Norman work, and the caps of the nave arcade are noteworthy. The Moot Hill, mutilated and altered as it has been at various periods, is difficult to make out satisfactorily. Local tradition says that it originally had a fosse, which was filled in when the bank and garden were constructed on the summit of the mound : it is also asserted that on the south side, which faces the river Irthing, the outline of an attached bailey could be traced some years back, and that the filled-in ditch of this bailey was found when certain drainage was carried out not very long ago. Remains of buildings have been found in the courtyard of the present house, on the north side of the mound, but they appear to have been of a domestic rather than of a military character. Without excavation there is no evidence to show who constructed the *motte* ; and though Irthington seems to have been the *caput baronie* of the Barony of Gilsland, which was held by Gilles, son of Bueth, at the end of the eleventh century, we are not justified in asserting that the mound formed any part of the defensive works of his abode.<sup>1</sup>

#### FRIDAY, JULY 17TH.

The programme for this, the last day of the Congress, included visits to two of the old halls in the Penrith neighbourhood, to Greystoke Church, and to the Church and Castle of Dacre. All these places lie to the west or north-west of Penrith. Catterlen Hall, which was first reached, is a good example of the gradual growth of a dwelling-house from the original defensive pele-tower : here the tower is of the

<sup>1</sup> It may be noticed that at Elsdon, once the *caput baronie* of the Liberty of Redesdale, there exist Mote Hills, which appear to be a mound and court fortress ; and at Wark-on-Tyne, the former capital of the Franchise of Tynedale, there is a Mote Hill.

Edwardian period, and the latest addition Tudor or Jacobean. Much of the detail is coarse and lacking in the refinement of the work to be found in the more peaceful south, but it possesses a character and a force peculiarly its own, and serves as an index of the conditions of life under which much of it was wrought. There are two seventeenth-century fireplaces which are distinctly interesting, and the arrangement of the window-seats in the upper story of the pele is worthy of note.

Blencow Hall falls into much the same category as Catterlen, although there are some indications that it may have been begun at a somewhat earlier date. There are scattered throughout the Border Counties many manor-houses, halls, farmhouses, and parsonages which had their origin in pele-towers of this kind, the pele affording a method of preserving life and property from the attacks of raiders which was largely adopted in the North.

From Blencow the party drove to Greystoke and visited the church. The parish of Greystoke was formerly the third largest in the county, comprising more than 48,000 acres: but at the present day the chapelries of Watermillock, Matterdale, and Threlkeld are separate parishes. The church has a somewhat curious history. At an early date it was one of the richest and most important churches in the county, and in 1358 Lord William de Greystoke attempted to convert the rectory into a college, consisting of a master and chaplains; but although he obtained the necessary authorisations, he appears to have died before the scheme was carried through. After lying in abeyance for a number of years during the minority of Lord William's heir, the scheme was revived in 1374, and, in spite of a considerable amount of opposition, carried to completion in 1382, when the college was formally founded and Gilbert Bowet became the first master, with six chaplains under him. At the time of the visitation of 1535 the value of the rectory and college appears to have been £82 14s., and each chantry priest received an allowance of £3 6s. 8d. for sustenance and a like sum for private use. The college came to an end when the chantries were suppressed under Edward VI, and its endowments narrowly escaped confiscation. The Courts, however, held that the foundation of the college was technically invalid, and the benefice reverted to its original condition.

At the west end of the south aisle of the church, lying on the pavement, are two alabaster figures of some interest. The larger figure, which is broken off at the knees, represents a knight clad in plate armour of early fifteenth-century date. The head is uncovered and rests on a tilting helmet; the fluted pauldrons are of unequal size,

the left being somewhat larger than the right. A collar of SS. is worn, and both elbow and knee-caps are ornamented. Attached to the skirts of the taces are tassets or tuilles, and the details of the armour are well preserved; on the bawdric is a pattern of quatrefoils. The sword has disappeared, but the belt which supported it passes over the right hip. The effigy is probably that of John, sixteenth Baron Greystoke, and may be dated *circa* 1440. The smaller effigy has at the head a canopy which bears shields, formerly displaying various coats, but now entirely blank. The figure is chiefly noteworthy as exhibiting an early example of the bascinet and camail, and may be dated *circa* 1360.

During the afternoon rain once more spoilt the pleasure of the drive, but the programme was carried out and the party visited Dacre. The Rev. F. Hasell gave an interesting account of the church, and dealt at some length with the legend attached to the two curious carved stone animal figures in the churchyard. The castle, which was largely rebuilt during the sixteenth century, at one time belonged to the powerful family of the Dacres. There are traces in the building of late thirteenth-century work.

At the closing meeting, held in the evening, Mr. R. H. Forster gave some account of the work then in progress on the site of Corstopitum, and hearty votes of thanks were accorded to the Mayor of Carlisle, the members of the local committee, and to the various gentlemen who had assisted the work of the Congress by describing the places visited.







## Archaeological Notes.

### SILCHESTER.

A GREAT deal of labour has been expended this year on the uninteresting task of covering in the Forum. The huge heap of tippings left from the excavations of many years ago has been partially cut away and spread over the fields. The east gate has been uncovered once more. It lies in the Forum premises, and was found to be badly damaged by a modern drain from the stables. The excavation of the small area of the city still left to be examined yielded no results of great interest. Besides the ordinary type of buildings, the excavators uncovered what seemed to be a large hall, 100 ft. by 90 ft. Its purpose is not yet understood.

### CAERWENT.

AT Caerwent the chief find was a temple just to the east of the Forum. The *cella* is 20 ft. square; the peristyle, 40 ft. Only the foundations are preserved, and there is no trace of anything that would indicate to what deity it was consecrated. The other work was mainly to the east of the Forum, and to the north of the main east and west street; but only trade buildings were uncovered.

### CAERLEON.

THE digging at Caerleon turned up a great number of stamped tiles, together with a small pedestal and fragment of a statue inscribed DEO MERCURIO.

### BATH.

DURING the past summer Mr. T. S. Bush has done some interesting work near the Race-course at Bath. In June two small barrows were opened: one, which was about 25 ft. in diameter, contained nothing; the other was about 30 ft. in diameter, and contained near the centre charred bones, pre-Roman pottery, and flints.

Subsequently, a long barrow in an adjoining field was opened and found to contain a complete skeleton, which lay on its back, fully extended, with the arms bent at the elbow and the hands meeting over the body. A few feet from the west end of the barrow, and 2 ft. 2 ins. below the surface, burnt material and charcoal were found, and

beneath this, within a small circle of stones, was a cinerary urn with charred bones and fragments of red pottery. Enough of the latter was recovered to make up about half of an incense cup 4 ins. in diameter and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in. deep.

This barrow was composed of soil. An adjacent round barrow, which was also opened, had been built up of stones, with a coating of soil over the whole surface. Its diameter was from 37 ft. to  $38\frac{1}{2}$  ft. The stones rested on the natural rock, which was found 7 ft. below the present surface, and nearly in the centre of the barrow the rock had been cut away, forming a bowl-shaped depression, in which a few human bones were found.

#### GLASTONBURY LAKE VILLAGE.

TRIAL excavations made near Glastonbury on the site of the newly-discovered Lake village at Meare have yielded most encouraging results. There were few spadefuls that did not contain something of archaeological value. The new site, which stretches over five fields, and is 500 yds. long, includes two groups of hut-dwellings, indicated by fifty mounds in one case and forty in the other. Between the two groups is a level piece of land about 200 ft. wide. One small trench cut through a single mound yielded more objects than were found in many of the largest of the hut-dwellings at Godney. The finds include objects of amber, bone, clay, bronze, flint, glass, antler, iron, Kimmeridge shale, pottery, and stone.

#### AVEBURY.

AT Avebury an enormous trench has been cut across the fosse, reaching to the bottom. The finds have been carefully "projected" on a section of one side of the trench, so as to show their exact relative position. The cutting is 24 ft. long, 17 ft. wide, and 17 ft. deep. At the bottom lay picks made from the antlers of red deer; at higher levels, in order, remains of the Bronze Age, and the Roman, Norman, and later periods. The excavators report that the relics tend to confirm the theory that the circle at Avebury is of the late Neolithic or early Bronze period.

#### GLASTONBURY ABBEY.

FOR several months during the summer the excavations have been in progress at Glastonbury Abbey. The south-west pier was found to have massive foundations, with a secondary walling outside, of inferior and perhaps later work, built up against it. Traces of the same were found round the base of the north-west pier. They may have served

as sleeper walls for the ends of the steps of the great staircase leading from the nave to the transept level. A pavement found under the tower floor, at a lower level, would appear to belong to an earlier church. But the most interesting discovery was that of the chapel at the east end. This is the chapel built by Abbot Bene (1493-1524) in honour of St. Edgar. It already shows a length of 70 ft., and may run 20 ft. further, thus making the total length of the abbey about 200 yds. The remains of a crypt have been found on the north side of the nave.

#### CAWTHORNE.

TRIAL excavations have been made this year on the site of the camps at Cawthorne, in East Yorkshire. They have so far yielded no very definite results.

#### CASTLESHAW.

THE excavators at Castleshaw, in the North Riding, have completely uncovered the hypocaust, which seemed to give evidence of the construction of two successive flues, and was found to have a very strong floor. They have also cleared the curious circular structure in the corner of the inner fort, which shows exactly similar features to those of a structure found last year at Cawfields, near Haltwhistle, and there explained as an oven. The structure is solid, and from 2 ft. to 3 ft. high, with a diameter of about 8 ft. In another part of the fort a deep pit has been cleared, running to a depth of 18 ft. The finds were not of great interest. A coin of Hadrian, some Roman leather shoes, and a few beads and some pointed wooden instruments were the most important.

#### ELSLACK.

A NEW site has been opened up at Elslack in the same county. Elslack lies between Colne and Skipton on the Midland Railway, and just south of Elslack the line cuts right across a large Roman fort which seems to have been a permanently-occupied post, as there is evidence of a stone rampart and of gateways of dressed stone. A Committee has been formed, and it is probable that systematic excavation will be undertaken next year.

#### RICHESTER.

EARLY in the year important results were obtained at Ribchester. Portions of the stone rampart and of one of the gateways were uncovered, and also a fine piece of the granary, where the charred grain still lies in abundance. Within the limits of the "Prætorium" an inscription turned up, showing the erasure of the name of Geta as

in other instances known. The fragments give one the following letters :—

A V G . . . .  
 A V G . . . .  
 C A . . . . .  
 R I C . . . . .  
 A V . . . . .

Within the same limits a well was opened and was found to contain the remains of two massive capitals with debased Corinthian ornament.

#### NEWSTEAD.

FILLING in has absorbed much time at Newstead, but there has been some careful work done in the clearing of ditches, with a view to obtaining chronological data: on the east front a large building was found lying below the late barrack blocks. This is perhaps a barrack building of the second period. Three more rubbish pits have been cleared out, in one of which were some fine silver-plated mountings for belts or harness.

#### CORBRIDGE.

THE excavations on the site of Corstopitum were continued from July to October, under the superintendence of Mr. R. H. Forster, our Honorary Treasurer, while amongst other members of the Association who assisted in the work were Mr. J. G. N. Clift, Honorary Secretary, Professor Haverfield, Mr. J. P. Gibson, and Mr. P. Newbold. The results of the season's operations have been extremely satisfactory. Two large granaries were completely uncovered, together with a large part of a building of great size and evident importance, which may possibly prove to be something of the nature of a forum; while the "fountain," discovered in 1907, was again laid bare: through the generosity of Captain J. H. Cuthbert, D.S.O., the owner of the site, it has been possible to leave these buildings exposed, and they will be open to inspection by visitors when the excavations are resumed next July.

One of the most important finds consisted of forty-eight gold coins and a gold ring, which had been wrapt in a piece of sheet lead and deposited at the back of a small furnace or oven in a rough building of late date. The coins were minted in the reigns of Valentinian I, Valens, Gratian, Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Magnus Maximus, thus proving that the occupation of the town continued up to a late period of the fourth century. Large quantities of pottery were found, but only one small fragment of *terra sigillata* could be definitely



assigned to a period earlier than the second century. The finds also include two very fine specimens of Caster ware. Small bronze articles were also fairly abundant, and the excavators have been greatly puzzled by the discovery of two bronze *fibulae*, which lay at a considerable depth below the present surface, but are undoubtedly of "Saxon" origin. It is possible that they are relics of the time when St. Wilfrid's artificers quarried the ruins of Corstopitum for building stone; but some authorities are inclined to assign them to as early a date as A.D. 500. If this date can be substantiated, it may be necessary to revise our ideas of the English conquest of Northumbria, as the Saxon Chronicle records Ida's arrival as occurring in the year A.D. 547.

We hope to print a paper by Mr. Forster on the results of the year's work at an early date. An exhaustive report of each year's excavations is issued to donors of ten pounds and annual subscribers of not less than two guineas. As the work is proving more difficult and extensive, and at the same time more important and interesting, than was anticipated, and as it is a sphere of archæological and historical research in which the Association, through several of its members, is particularly interested, we venture to make a special appeal on behalf of the Corbridge Excavation Fund, which will need much additional support if the complete excavation of the site is to be adequately carried out. Subscriptions or donations should be sent to Mr. W. H. Knowles, F.S.A., 25, Collingwood Street, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

#### AN EARLY REFERENCE TO DENEHOLES.

OUR attention has been drawn to a passage in Lambard's *Perambulations of Kent*, which throws some light on the supposed tradition as to the use of deneholes for storage or as places of refuge. The first edition of Lambard's work, published in 1576, contains no reference to the subject, but in the second edition of 1596 the following passage occurs as part of the description of Crayford:—

"There are to be seene, as well in the open Heathe near to this Towne, as also in the closed grounds about it, sundry artificiall Caves, or holes, in the earth where of some haue ten, some fifteen, and some twenty fathoms in depth, at the mouth (and thence downward) narrow, like to the Tonnell of a chimney, or passage of a well: but in the bottome large, and of great receipt. Inasmuch, as some of them haue sundry roomes (or partitions) one within another, strongly vaulted, and supported with pillars of chalke. And in the opinion of the inhabitants, these were in former times digged, as well for the use of the chalke towards building, as for to marle (or amende) their arable lands therewith. But I suppose that they were made to another ende also by the Saxons our auncestors, who (after the manner of their elders) used them as receptacles, and places of secret retriact, for their wives, children and portable goodes, in

times both of civil dissension and foreine invasion. For Cornelius Tacitus treating of the maners of the old Germanes (the verie Syres of these Saxons) writeth thus: Solent et subterraneos specus aperire, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignor antur aut eò ipso fallunt quod quaerenda sunt.' They use to dig (saith he) certaine Caues under the grounde : and if the enemie come he spoileth all that is abroad but such things as bee thus hidden, either they lie unknown, or otherwise they deceive him in that he is driven to seek after them. If these be not found in other places, it is to be imputed to the soile, which in chalke onely will affoorde this workmanship. Besides that many beasts have tumbled into some of these : it happened a late Noble person in following his Hauke, not without great perill of his life, to fall into one of them, that was at least twelve fathoms deepe."

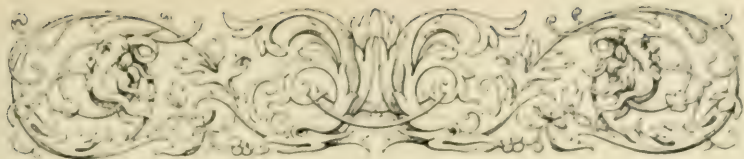
The significance of the passage lies in the statement as to the opinion of the inhabitants. At Crayford, at any rate, towards the end of the sixteenth century, there was a tradition that the deneholes were chalk-mines, and Lambarde resembled many of his successors in not being content to accept a simple and rational explanation.

#### EXPLORATIONS ON LANSDOWN.

THE excavations on this site were continued in May of the present year under the direction of Mr. T. S. Bush. One of the objects of the excavators was to find further remains of stone moulds, similar to those discovered last year.<sup>1</sup> A search of considerable extent resulted in the unearthing of three small portions of conical-shaped moulds close to the spot where the majority of the others were found, while two other portions, each showing a good design, were found in another part of the field. The other relics included the barrel of a bronze lock and a gilt bronze brooch of the fourth or fifth century. Further traces were found of the foundations of walls, but these were very badly broken up. The excavation of this field has now been completed, and enough has been discovered to show that the occupation of the site lasted from about the end of the first to the beginning of the fifth century.

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal*, vol. xiii, N.S., p. 251.





## Notices of Books.

EARTHWORK OF ENGLAND: PREHISTORIC, ROMAN, SAXON, DANISH, NORMAN, AND MEDIEVAL. By A. HADRIAN ALLCROFT, M.A.  
London: Macmillan and Co. 1908.

WE cordially welcome the publication of this book, which, as the author is fully justified in hoping, will give the beginner some insight into the many problems involved in the study of one of the most interesting branches of archæology. The plans are clear and well drawn, scales and north points being in most cases included. Altogether the book is to be commended as an honest pioneer attempt to deal comprehensively with the somewhat scattered literature of earthworks; but a certain amount of critical revision will be necessary if, as we hope will be the case, a second edition is called for.

In this connection we would draw attention to the description of the camp known as Winklbury, which will be found on pp. 81, 82, and 83. This camp may be described as standing on a spur of the chalk down, defended on the south by three lines of ramparting, and on the north, east, and west by lines commencing at either end of the midmost southern rampart and following the contour of the hill. In a foot-note on p. 81 it is stated that the particulars of this camp are taken from *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, vol. ii, by the late Major-General Pitt-Rivers, and we are certainly entitled to expect that the details set out in that volume have been accurately and intelligently abstracted.

In the first place, we must protest against Mr. Allcroft's method of describing the width of a ditch: the width of a ditch cannot in any sense be the horizontal measurement across its *bottom*. In describing the horizontal measurement of a ditch, two dimensions are necessary: (1) between the points of intersection of the scarp and counterscarp with the plane of the original surface, and (2) between the points of intersection of the planes of the scarp and counterscarp with the bottom of the ditch. If Mr. Allcroft's method be followed to a logical conclusion, any ditch having a section corresponding to an inverted triangle must be described as having no width at all.

To return to Winkelbury camp, the middle rampart is described as having been *originally* 7 ft. high, with an outer ditch  $11\frac{2}{3}$  ft. in depth and 5 ft. wide. There is no evidence that the height of the rampart was originally 7 ft., nor was the ditch 5 ft. wide at the bottom or any other point, while the depth from the old surface line varied between 10.26 ft. and 11.75 ft., the mean depth being 10.935 ft. The inner rampart is described as having been *originally* 9 ft. high, with a fosse of the same depth, but only 2 ft. 2 in. wide. According to Pitt-Rivers, the greatest perpendicular height of this rampart above the old surface line was, at the spot where he investigated it, only 2 ft., and what its *original* height may have been no one can say. The fosse was originally 3 ft. deep and 4 ft. 4 in. wide at the bottom. We may presume that what Mr. Allcroft has done is to apply the set of dimensions that properly belong to the northern rampart and fosse to this intermediate rampart and fosse on the south, and even if they be read as applying to the northern lines, they are inaccurate, as there the rampart stood 3.60 ft. above the old surface line, while the ditch was 9 ft. in depth from the old surface line to the bottom, its width being about 16 ft. 6 in. at the top and 2 ft. 2 in. at the bottom. We thus find that of six dimensions given with regard to two ramparts and *fossæ* not one appears to be accurate; and even if we allow that Mr. Allcroft has applied to the central rampart and fosse the dimensions properly belonging to the northern line of defence, even then two out of three dimensions are wrongly given. In view of the fact that the book has been written for the benefit of the uninstructed, it is much to be regretted that such inaccuracies should have been allowed to remain, especially as they are errors not of opinion but of fact. There are other blemishes, however, but they are such as may easily be removed, and a careful revision is all the more desirable as the design of the book and the general treatment of the subject are worthy of high commendation.

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FOLK-MEMORY, OR THE CONTINUITY OF BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGY. By  
WALTER JOHNSON, F.G.S. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1908.

WE must confess that we find this book disappointing, especially when we remember the good work done by its author in *Neolithic Man in North-East Surrey*. Mr. Johnson is far more at home on the Downs, searching for evidences of Neolithic man's handiwork, than among the musty records of the library or muniment room. Such portions of the present volume as deal wholly with field-work are excellent, and will appeal particularly to those who know the Downs, with their tracks, camps, and dwelling-sites; those who have experienced the joy of



discovering a patch of ground rich in flakes and scrapers and the lightness of heart with which the long tramp home is undertaken when the "bag" has been good. We trust that in the near future Mr. Johnson will give us another book, smacking, so to speak, of the wet clogging earth of the downlands, as his proper sphere is certainly original field-research.

We are in accord with the reference to the Chislehurst chalk-mines and with the statements as to the "canches" or "tables" which have been foolishly called altars and ludicrously associated with Druidical sacrifices, and we agree with the remark that "the folk-memory of the Chislehurst mines is of an unsound character, having been vitiated by outside influences," though perhaps it would be more correct to say that in this instance no such thing as folk-memory ever existed.

The author has yielded to the prevailing mania for giving an opinion on the subject of deneholes, and it is to be regretted that he has not been content to state only the results of his own observations. He has, however, abandoned field-work to search among written records, and the results will not stand criticism. We refer particularly to three paragraphs commencing at the last paragraph of p. 239, in which the date of Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire* is given as 1705. This was the second edition, the first having been published in 1676-77. So far as can be judged from his writings, Plot had *no* knowledge of any Essex deneholes. It is *not* on record that Walter FitzWalter worked the mines (*i.e.*, deneholes) at the beginning of the fifteenth century; and if the author will refer to certain books and documents,<sup>1</sup> he will realise that there is no significance whatever in the story that in the reign of Henry IV tradition traced back deneholes to that most powerful King Cunobeline. He will also realise that there is no evidence of the country-folk clinging to this British "tradition," or of their holding to it when folk-memory was unaided by books and legends were transmitted orally. In short, he will observe that the "tradition" with regard to the deneholes in Hangman's Wood and elsewhere is of very modern growth, having, in point of fact, originated in or about the year 1887.

Furthermore, Camden figures no pits in the *Britannia* of 1600, and there was no edition of his work published in 1601. So far as we are aware, Lambarde first published *Perambulations of Kent* in 1576, and in that edition he makes no mention of the pits near Crayford, which are referred to in the second edition, published in 1596. Altogether there are too many inaccurate statements in the short space of three

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Petrus, his *Essex Repales*, 1670. cc. IX and XIII. *Natural History of Oxfordshire*. R. Plot, 1676-77. *Originalia Roll*. An. II. Hen. IV. Ro. XXXIV.

paragraphs. Mr. Johnson has shown that he is capable of better work than this, and we advise him in future to confine his efforts to the recording of the field-work which he does so well.

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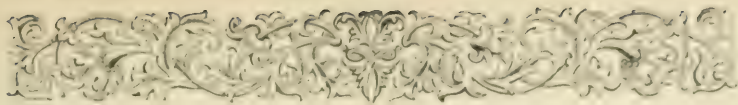
THE ENGLISH CASTLES. By EDMUND B. D'AUVERGNE. London : T. Werner Laurie. 1908.

THIS book may be described as an exceedingly readable addition to the literature dealing with mediæval military works. It is, of course, impossible, as the author points out, so to compress the subject as to allow every castle in England to be noticed or described, and we can commend the selection which has been made. The author's main object has been the condensation of the latest research work dealing broadly with the various points involved, and the incorporation of such original material as may have come under his notice. We are glad to see some doubt thrown on the usual ascription of the much-discussed piece of herring-bone work at Corfe Castle, and we understand that material is being collected by one of our Associates for a comprehensive history of this interesting building, which has suffered to a woeful extent from "speculative archæology." A few slight errors seem to have crept in, *e.g.*, with regard to the stone inscribed THYS MADE ROGER, now to be seen over the arch of the outer gateway at Brougham Castle in Westmoreland. When the Countess of Pembroke held the property, and at some date prior to 1676, this stone was placed over the inner gateway. For years it disappeared, but about the year 1839, when part of the weir was carried away by a flood, it was rediscovered and placed in its present position by the Earl of Thanet. It is, therefore, valueless as evidence of the period during which the gateway was constructed.

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A CENTURY OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES. By Professor A. MICHAELIS. Translated by BETTINA KAHNWEILLER. London : John Murray. 1908.

THIS book deals almost exclusively with the archæology of Classic Art and the strides that have been made in the scientific exploration of ancient sites, from the excavations undertaken at Pompeii by Championnet in 1799 to the latest work of Dr. Evans at Knossos in 1908. The book is profusely illustrated, and useful plans are included. As a summary of the work accomplished during the last hundred years in this particular branch of archæology, it is exceedingly valuable, and the author and translator may be sincerely congratulated on the thoroughly sound manner in which the work of compilation and translation has been done.



# THE JOURNAL

OF THE

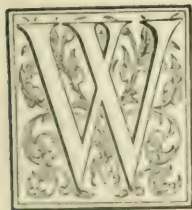
## British Archaeological Association.

DECEMBER, 1908.

### JOHN HALLE, MERCHANT AND MAYOR OF SALISBURY.

BY MRS. COLLIER.

*Read February 19th, 1908.)*



WHILE the fate of Crosby Hall was hanging in the balance, it happened that my attention was called to the existence of an ancient hall at Salisbury, built at much the same period and in much the same style, and though on a smaller scale, possessing in regard to architecture and decoration merits not inferior to Crosby, while retaining in almost pristine condition its ancient glass, heraldic ornaments, and especially fine oak carving. It has been well preserved: a restoration, carried out in 1834, has not in this case detracted much from its original character, the only alteration being at the south end of the hall, which is now occupied by a large oak screen, converted from an ancient cabinet, with carved figures and designs extremely curious, and forming a doorway. A modern addition is the painting above of an angel, with a scroll inscribed, "This Hall built 1470, Restored 1834," with the Royal Arms emblazoned—a design by Pugin, who executed it impromptu on the spot, working eight hours at it without intermission.

With this exception the Hall appears exactly as it stood in the year 1470, when John Halle, Merchant of the Staple and Mayor of the City, erected it.<sup>1</sup> Houses with halls of this description, erected by private citizens or merchants, must have been not uncommon. A reference to Stow's *Survey* proves that they were numerous in London: Crosby Place (to use the original name) is there described as "one great house," and the same expression occurs frequently in connection with other houses. Unfortunately, all these residences of the great merchants of mediæval London have disappeared, many being destroyed by the Great Fire. In the provinces noteworthy remains of merchants' houses are still in existence at Bristol, which ranked second only to London in mediæval times; but houses of the same type, once inhabited by persons of higher rank, remain in many parts of the country.

These two halls—that of John Halle and the hall of Crosby Place—were erected within ten years of each other, and in both cases by Merchants of the Staple, dealers in wool, contemporaries, and possibly, from the circumstances of their lives, well known to one another. Crosby Place, mentioned by Shakespeare and the scene of dramatic episodes, has attained a celebrity which, it was hoped, would have secured it from destruction. The Hall of John Halle at Salisbury has not attracted much attention in recent days, although in view of its good

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that this Hall was not an independent structure, but a prominent feature of John Halle's residence—the principal apartment of the house, in which the master would dine and sup with his family, guests, apprentices, and servants. The typical mediæval house of large size was built round a central quadrangle, and the hall usually occupied about one half of the side opposite to the main entrance, as may be seen in such places as Staple Inn and many of the older Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. This arrangement was copied by the College from the ordinary large house, and not *vice versâ*. Many of the original Halls of the City Companies were simply large private houses, bought by or presented to them.

It is customary to describe this and Crosby Hall as banqueting halls, but the term is a misnomer in so far as it suggests that they were used solely or principally for feasting. The word banquet in mediæval and Elizabethan times meant a dessert or other light refreshment, which was usually served in some room other than the hall.



state of preservation, its special beauties of architecture, fine glass, and remarkable roof, it combines points which constitute it a gem unique of its kind, and not to be matched in its entirety; in fact, if we compare the two interiors, it is not too much to say that the Hall of John Halle holds its own in all but size, and in detail actually excels the more famous building of Sir John Crosby. It gains an added interest from the fact that the life of John Halle can be clearly traced in the contemporary annals of his own City of Salisbury, and letters have been preserved which throw light on the more important matters and events in which he took part or was concerned. Whatever honours have been deserved by Sir John Crosby as the founder of Crosby Place, I venture to say that the information available concerning him cannot compare in interest with the detailed and curious particulars which can be collected concerning John Halle from authentic documents of his own times.

Before giving a sketch, drawn from the sources above named, of the life of its founder, I will give a brief description of the Hall, as I saw it a few years ago. It is situated in the street called the Canal, and at present is enclosed in a modern-fronted house facing the Market Place, but at the date of its construction it formed part of the mansion occupied by the merchant. The dimensions are very noble, and especially remarkable is the lofty roof of oak blackened with age: by a curious and effective arrangement the inner slope of each bay of the roof is divided into four compartments by purlins, which are braced by arched braces, cusped on the inner edges, the spandrels being filled in with wood, while the common rafters are lathed and plastered, leaving the arched braces visible from below, and thus forming a series of ornamental compartments which greatly enhance the effect of the design. The oak screen at the south end, with its quaint and elaborate carving, has already been mentioned. At the south end of the east wall is an original doorway, and near the south end of the west wall is a capacious fireplace, with a massive stone chimney-piece, ornamented with quatrefoils and finished with a cornice: the quatrefoils, which are six in number, enclose shields, charged

with the arms of the founder, his merchant's mark, and various other heraldic devices.

In the east wall there are three lofty, square-headed windows, each divided into compartments by mullions and a heavy transom: the northernmost window is of four lights, the centre window of two, and the southernmost of four in the upper stage and two in the lower, where the window is narrowed to allow room for the doorway already mentioned. The glazing displays various coats-of-arms, the glass above and below being diapered with diagonal rows of flowering sprigs of the *planta genesta*, alternating with scroll-like labels which bear an enigmatic inscription, deciphered as **Drde** or **Crede**—possibly a trade password of the Stapler's Guild. The arms represented are as follows:—

Northernmost window: in the upper compartments—1, John Halle; 2 and 3, France and England quarterly; 4, John Halle. In the lower compartments—1, Hungerford of Down Ampney; 2, Neville quartering Montacute and Monthermer; 3, The Earls of Salisbury, quartering Beauchamp,<sup>1</sup> Montacute, Monthermer, Neville, Clare, Despencer, and Newburgh; 4, Hungerford impaling Halle, in reference to the marriage of John Halle's daughter Chrystian to Sir Thomas Hungerford, eldest son of Sir Edmund Hungerford of Down Ampney.<sup>2</sup>

Centre window: in the upper compartments—1, Monthermer; 2, Halle impaling Halle. In the lower compartments—1, Halle impaling his merchant's mark; 2, The ancient arms of the City of Salisbury, impaling quarterly, 1 and 4 Montacute, 2 and 3 Monthermer.

The merchant's mark of John Halle, which is blazoned *ar.* on a field *sa.*, varies slightly in the representations, but is in all cases a combination of the monogram J H with what has been supposed to be an uncouth allegorical

<sup>1</sup> These seem to be the arms of the Duchess of Clarence, daughter and co-heiress of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury and Warwick, whose wife was sister, and at length heiress of Henry Beauchamp, sixth Earl of Warwick. The arms of the Duchess of Clarence would have the following quarters:—1, Quarterly, Montacute and Monthermer; 2, Neville; 3, Beauchamp; 4, Newburgh; 5, Clare; 6, Despencer.

<sup>2</sup> The arms of Sir Thomas are charged with a label of three points, showing that his father was still alive. Sir Edmund died in 1484.



THE HALL OF JOHN HALLE. DOORWAY





sign of the Staple. In both cases a cross is introduced, a sign which the Rev. E. Duke, a Wiltshire antiquary of the early nineteenth century, considered a proof of the good merchant's desire that his religious principles should be plainly recorded both in his coat-of-arms and on the bales of wool, which doubtless were exported in great quantities, and exposed for sale at the Staple, or Mart, of Calais.<sup>1</sup>

The west wall is pierced only by a single window of smaller size, the sill being about on the same level as the transoms of the windows on the east side. This window, which is in the centre bay of the wall, is of special interest, as it has been supposed that the glazing was inserted to commemorate the release of John Halle from prison and his reconciliation with King Edward IV, whom he had offended by too plain speaking. It represents John Halle in the fantastic dress then in vogue; he appears holding with his right hand the corner of a banner of England, charged with a label of three points *ar.*, and grasping a dagger with his left. In another compartment are represented a bear and ragged staff, the well-known badge of the Beauchamps and afterwards of the King-maker, Neville, Earl of Warwick.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Duke's opinion seems to us purely fanciful: the double use of the cross is not particularly obvious, and in any case the use of such a symbol is more likely to indicate a desire to bring good luck to the merchandise than to provide evidence of the merchant's religious principles. Merchants' marks were generally of a personal character, and we cannot admit that there was anything allegorical in John Halle's.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> There appears to be considerable objection to this theory. In the first place, John Halle's release took place some years before the completion of the Hall; secondly, the banner is that of a king's eldest son, and the prince who afterwards became Edward V was not born till November 4th, 1470, his father being at that time a fugitive in Flanders, while the Earl of Warwick had become an active supporter of the Lancastrians. It is much more likely that the window was inserted at the time of the completion of the Hall—*i.e.*, late in 1470 or early in 1471—during the brief Lancastrian restoration, when John Halle, as we shall see later, temporarily supported the then predominant side. In that case the banner will be that of Prince Edward, son of Henry VI, and the badge of the Earl of Warwick goes naturally with it. After the return of Edward IV John Halle would, no doubt, describe the banner as that of Prince Edward, afterwards Edward V.—Ed.

I will now revert to a narration of such facts as I have been able to collect concerning the founder of the fine piece of mediæval architecture just described. John Halle was a member of a family which seems to have been well known in his own county, and was already in affluent circumstances, though not of high origin, as no long pedigree or record of a right to bear arms is to be found in the early copies of the Visitation books of the Heralds' College. The same coat, however, which appears as pertaining to John Halle in the window of his Hall, but without the mullet, was borne, according to Gwillim's *Display of Heraldry*,<sup>1</sup> by a family of Hall of Coventry; and if this is correct, it would appear that the two families were descended from the same source. It is possible, however, that Gwillim is mistaken, as there is no record of a family of the name having been in existence at Coventry at this period.

The earliest notice which connects the family with Salisbury appears to refer to the father of John, a citizen who is mentioned as a member of the Corporation in 15 Henry VI (1436-37), and again in 19 Henry VI (1440-41). At the earlier date he is noted as attending a Convocation in that capacity, and again the ledgers of the Corporation enter him as fulfilling the same office, after which his name does not appear, but that of John takes its place, and that name is first recorded in 22 Henry VI (1443-44) as contributing six shillings towards raising £40, the proportion due for payment by the City of Salisbury, of a general subsidy to the King, who stood in great need of funds at that particular crisis of his reign. The date of John Halle's birth is not known: parochial registers were not yet in use, and the names of persons not of high rank remain unrecorded. However, from other evidence it may be concluded that

<sup>1</sup> "He bareth Argent, a chevron Sable, between three columbines stripped proper, by the name of Hall, of Coventry."—Gwillim. John Halle's arms have a mullet of eight points *or*, charged on the point of the chevron. Gwillim quaintly adds:—"The Columbine is pleasing to the eye, as well in respect of the seemly (and not vulgar) shape, as in regard of the azury colour thereof; and is holden to be very medicinable for the dissolving of impostumations or swellings in the throat."

he was a man of middle age or more at the date when he bought the property on which his Mansion and Hall were built—viz., 1467; and his death occurred in 1479, as is proved by the *inquisitiones post mortem* of his landed property taken at the end of that year.

It is evident that the Halles were already prominent as citizens and owners of property in and around Salisbury before John succeeded to the position of member of the Corporation. Aubrey, the Wiltshire historian, writing in his Wiltshire manuscripts in 1669, seems to have had sources of information not now available; he gives many particulars regarding collateral branches of the Halle family remaining in his day, and traces their descent from as far back as the fourteenth century. The pedigree cannot be authenticated, but he at least proves the local importance of the family in the fifteenth century by the statement, borne out by other authorities, that of the merchants of Salisbury at that date, two—Halle and Webbe—"bought all the wooll of Salisbury Plains," while he refers in the same paragraph to the merchants of Gloucester—Greville and Winman—who bought all the Cotswold. These were, therefore, the most prominent Merchants of the Staple in the two great centres for wool-dealers in the country. Salisbury had long been known for the flourishing condition of its trade in wool, and also for its extensive manufacture of flannels and fine cloths, and this inland trade no doubt attracted dealers in wool from the Staple towns of the southern counties. The residence of John Halle faced the Market Place, which was known as the Wool Market, where the merchants overhauled the bales of goods brought for sale or as samples. Aubrey states that John Halle was Merchant of the Staple at Salisbury, where he had many houses. It does not appear that Webbe and Halle were partners in business, but only the two most successful and extensive dealers of their time, as their names do not occur coupled together in any documents of the period, and Aubrey's statement may be taken to mean that these were the two great capitalists and most widely known of the merchants of Salisbury of their day.

Halle was evidently the most prominent citizen. The



City Ledger, which first records his name as contributing to the subsidy in 22 Henry VI, has a second mention of him in 24 Henry VI (1445-46), when it is recorded that John Halle was admitted a member of the Corporation, being elected one of the Common Council or junior members, then forty-eight in number. He rose rapidly, as in 1448 he was elected one of the twenty-four Aldermen. A year later he contributed the amount of £1 6s. 8d. towards a subsidy for the King, which had been rendered necessary by the calamitous war that followed the end of the truce with France, the sum sent from Salisbury being £66. In 30 Henry VI (1451-52) John Halle was chosen Mayor of the City for the first time, showing how quickly he had risen in the estimation of his fellow-citizens while yet a comparatively young man. No special events are recorded in his year of office, but it is evident that he filled the post with ability and satisfaction to those who elected him, as in 1453, when two burgesses were required from Salisbury to serve in Parliament, John Halle was elected with William Hore, also a merchant, to represent the city at Reading, where the members were to meet on March 6th of that year. This Parliament, owing to the King's illness, was adjourned and directed to meet at Westminster on February 14th of the year following, and from thence the King directed a mandate to the Mayor and Bailiffs of Salisbury, enjoining them to pay £32 12s. to the burgesses, John Halle and William Hore, for expenses in coming to the aforesaid Parliament, and in staying there and returning to their own homes, viz., for 163 days, each burgess receiving 2s. a day, whereas Knights of the Shire received 4s. a day for the same attendance. No doubt it was a great expense to members attending Parliament, which was often convened at various distant places, other than Westminster, and the inconvenience and difficulty of travelling and of finding tolerable accommodation made the honour and duty of representing towns and counties no sinecure to those elected. The burden of payment fell heavily on the constituencies in many cases, and boroughs sometimes petitioned to be excused the privilege of returning members. Salisbury,



however, does not appear to have grudged the expense. This Parliament was dissolved in 1455.

John Halle, we must suppose, remained in high favour with his constituents, as in 1457 he was again elected Mayor of the City, a good proof that he merited the distinction of being chosen a second time. However, in the following year the annals of the City for the first time gave a hint that the worthy Mayor was possessed of a somewhat irascible and overbearing temper. It is recorded that in consequence of the use of highly improper and violent language at the councils of the Corporation, a by-law was made and a fine imposed of 3*s.* 4*d.* on each person offending. Evidently John Halle was one of the worst offenders, as for him and one other the fine was to be 20*s.* for the first, 40*s.* for the second, and imprisonment for the third offence. The worshipful Mayor must certainly have forgotten himself, or perhaps from his official position it was deemed proper to exact a heavier punishment.

However, that John Halle had not lost his popularity, and that he had been able to find reasonable excuse for his ebullition of temper, is evident from the honours he continued to receive, and from the subsequent conduct of his fellow-citizens and the Corporation in upholding him at a later date against the resentment of King Edward IV, as will presently be related. In 1458 Halle was appointed Alderman of St. Martin's Ward, an office in repute at that date, and in 1460 he was for the second time chosen Burgess for the City of Salisbury. This Parliament, in the last year of Henry VI, was summoned to meet at Westminster in October, 1460, and it was called at a most tempestuous time, when the contest between York and Lancaster was raging in the country. The Battle of Northampton had just taken place, the Queen had fled, and King Henry was a prisoner in the hands of the Yorkists, who summoned a Parliament in Henry's name, and before it Richard Duke of York appeared and advanced his claim to the throne as rightful heir by lineal descent from Edward III. The Parliament was required to investigate the question, and after due deliberation Richard was constituted Heir-apparent and

Protector, the Crown being assured to Henry for his life. What part John Halle took in this debate is not recorded; but from his subsequent conduct it seems likely that he was something of an opportunist, and managed to keep on good terms with whichever party was in the ascendant.

The unfortunate Henry was not deposed until after the death of Richard at the Battle of Wakefield; and Edward, Earl of March, eldest son of the Duke of York, was acknowledged as King on March 4th, 1461. On May 23rd Edward issued writs summoning a Parliament to meet at Westminster on July 6th, but the unsettled state of the Kingdom and a threatened invasion of the Scots (who had taken up the cause of Henry, then a fugitive in Scotland) obliged the King to postpone the meeting of Parliament until November 4th. The citizens of Salisbury must have been well satisfied with their worthy burgess, as Halle was elected to support their interests for the third time. Important affairs were settled in this Parliament, which sat for nearly two years, but whether John Halle attended during the whole of that time does not appear. There is an entry in the Ledger of the Corporation of the City of Salisbury showing that for attendance at this Parliament John Halle and his colleague only received £2 15s. each for fifty-five days, being at the rate of 1s. a day, instead of the 2s. allowed them in the previous Parliament. By law they were entitled to the higher rate of wages, but probably their city had been put to great expense through the disorder of the country, and they, being well to do, were willing to serve for a more slender remuneration.

John Halle did not again represent his city in Parliament: probably his own affairs and his municipal interests gave him sufficient occupation, and as more than twenty years had passed since his first appearance in public life, he was now no longer a young man, and perhaps he preferred the business of his own neighbourhood and city to the turmoil of politics. He was also married, though beyond the fact that his wife's Christian name was Joan, and that she was living in the year 1467, when Halle purchased the premises which became the

site of his mansion, I have found no further reference to her. It is noted by a local antiquary of the county<sup>1</sup> that most probably John Halle married one of his own kinswomen. This seems to be an inference—and probably a correct one—from the fact that in one of the windows already described appear the arms of Halle impaling Halle.

After his return from his Parliamentary duties in 1460-61, John Halle was not allowed to retire into private life: his popularity did not forsake him, since in 1464 he was elected Mayor of Salisbury for the third time, an undeniable proof of the esteem in which he was held by his neighbours and fellow-citizens; and in this year of mayoralty arose the circumstances which led to the most eventful and interesting phase in connection with his life and character. To understand the episode, we must go back to an earlier period in the history of the city. There had long been much friction between the Bishop of the diocese and the citizens, as represented by the Mayor and Corporation. The manorial rights had been given by a charter of Henry III to the Bishop, and though the city did enjoy certain immunities, yet the episcopal yoke was found heavy to bear. As early as the year 1315 the Mayor and Corporation had appealed to the King, asking that their city should be exempted from the temporal jurisdiction of the Bishop. The Crown granted their prayer, but matters did not mend, the Bishop being determined to frustrate their ambition, while the King was not likely to approve of a serious attempt to throw off the feudal yoke. Such an independent spirit deserved to be crushed, and it was easy to prove that the city would not benefit by the change; in fact, the trade of Salisbury declined, and the citizens petitioned for leave to revert to the old order of things. Again consent was given, but peace did not ensue: the friction continued and disputes were continually arising, the citizens being always ready to steal a march on the Bishop and circumvent his rights as their feudal lord.

In 1464 the Bishop, Richard Beauchamp, was a strong

<sup>1</sup> The late Rev. Edward Duke, of Lake, Wilts.



man and greatly favoured by the King, so that it would scarcely appear to have been politic on the part of the city to begin a feud with him for their adversary. However, an opportunity presented itself when a contention arose between William Swayne, merchant, founder of a chantry at the east end of the Church of St. Thomas, and the Bishop, regarding the possession of a piece of land of which each claimed the ownership. The Corporation stepped in, and the Dean and Chapter were also involved, as having an alleged right to the property, which they considered to be part of the cemetery of St. Thomas's, they being the patrons of that church. The question came on for decision before King Edward and his Council, the contending parties being reduced to the two principal rivals, the Bishop and the City, the latter claiming the ground as a waste piece within the body of the city, the former holding that it was part of his manor and that he should reserve it for ecclesiastical uses.

The Corporation determined to send their Mayor at the head of a municipal deputation to plead the cause of the City before the King in Council. John Halle had, as Aubrey states, many houses in Salisbury, and probably he had private causes of variance with the Bishop in connection with the feudal claims of the latter over his property; at any rate, Halle was invested with the important duty of taking the lead in the defence of the City's rights. Now, it appears that however reasonable and just the contention of the City might be against the claim of the Bishop, John Halle himself seems to have considered that a reference of the dispute to the King and Council would be on unequal terms, the Bishop being nobly allied and a special favourite of the King. This being so, one is surprised to learn that instead of advancing his case by a judicious appeal to the justice and reason of the court, the bold magistrate attacked the subject in unmeasured language, and so far forgot himself as to allow his zeal and temper to get the better of his discretion, and according to one of his biographers, the Rev. E. Duke, he actually proceeded to "beard the monarch on his throne," and that monarch not one who



would take such an affront quietly. I have not been able to discover what was the exact form of his offence, but that he used violent, if not insulting, language in addressing the King is very evident, and whatever the merits or demerits of the case might be, the King was not disposed to pass over his conduct. The unlucky Mayor was committed to prison for having shown himself of a "right sedicious, hasty, wilfull, and unwitty disposicion"; and a letter was sent on the part of the Crown to "oure trusty and well-beloved citizens" of Salisbury, requiring them to elect another Mayor "of sad, sober, and discrete disposicion," in place of their offending magistrate.

Their action seems to have been peculiar; for instead of obeying the King's mandate, when the deputation returned to the city without their imprisoned official chief, the citizens seem to have decided to do nothing, but to await events. Evidently they hoped that the King's displeasure would not last, and that their popular Mayor would be set free to return to his post. Six weeks passed, but their conduct did not mollify the King's wrath, and another and more severe letter was despatched to bring the citizens to their senses. This time Edward commanded that a new Mayor should be appointed on or before October 18th, or that twelve, or eight at least, of the burgesses should appear "to show cause why they had not performed the said desire and command, and to answere to such things as to the same as shall then be laied or objected against you" before the King and Lords of the Council. This letter apparently only arrived by messenger on October 10th, a Wednesday, and a convocation was thereupon hastily held on the Sunday following, the citizens evidently feeling that their own interests were at stake, and that more than the punishment and prospects of their magistrate was seriously involved. In the event the Corporation resolved that a humble address should be presented to the King, and this had the effect of somewhat assuaging Edward's anger: at any rate, he consented to wait till the 6th of November, and to be satisfied if four or six citizens attended before him and his Council at his "Palais of Westmynstre," to render

reason wherefore they had not duly obeyed the injunction of his letters.

The reply to the address, which was sent immediately, shows a moderation which was really creditable in so autocratic and fiery a character as that of Edward. Unfortunately, the citizens foolishly thought that they might presume on the King's softened tone, and took what certainly appears to be a most impolitic step in actually by power of attorney appointing John Halle as one of the four representatives to appear before the King in compliance with his letter, the names of the others being John Aport, John Hampton, and Thomas Pyrie. It certainly seems an extraordinary proceeding to appoint John Halle, the declared delinquent, to be one of the deputation to plead in a cause in which he was so intimately concerned. In the result, the Corporation received an intimation from the other members of the deputation that the King would not allow John Halle to be set at liberty to appear on their behalf, and his name is not among the signatories of the report sent; three other names appear attached to the document, J. Chafyn being probably a delegate sent in Halle's place, and the other two a lawyer and secretary required by the Council.

It is tantalising to find no further document or record in the Ledger of the City of Salisbury, and the sequel to this curious episode can only be surmised from after events. It is evident that Bishop Beauchamp got the original case decided in his favour, as was to be expected: the piece of ground in dispute was attached to the adjoining church of St. Thomas à Becket, and was probably presented by the Bishop to the authorities of the Cathedral. As to John Halle, he must have been forgiven and liberated when the proceedings of the court terminated; probably he repented of his contumacy and made a proper apology. It seems indeed as if he considered that he had cause for gratitude in escaping so easily, and that having perhaps previously been a partisan of the House of Lancaster, his opinions and proceedings underwent a change, and he became a zealous friend of the House of York: it was shortly after

this date that he erected his splendid Hall, and from a view of the room it is evident which party he favoured, as we see there the Royal Arms, the two Roses—that of York surmounted by a crown—and many symbols of the Plantagenets, every vacant piece of glass being occupied by the leaf of the *planta genesta*; and it has even been surmised that in the labels running throughout the windows the word “Drede” is to be deciphered D(ominus) R(ex) E(dwardus) D(omina) E(lizabetha).<sup>1</sup>

The remaining circumstances of John Halle's life may be briefly narrated. He was elected Mayor for the fourth time on All Saints' Day of the year in which he appeared before the Council; the election seems to have been provisional, but the King made no objection. Halle must have been still in prison at the time, but probably he was forgiven and freed shortly afterwards, and we find him presiding as Mayor at an assembly held on July 25th of the following year, being the Feast of St. James. In 1470 the Mansion and Hall were nearing completion, and by that date John Halle was growing in years. However, circumstances then arose which once more brought his name into prominence as acting in the interests of his native city.

The year 1470 witnessed a renewal of hostilities between the rival royal houses, owing to a rupture between King Edward and his brother, the Duke of Clarence, which had occurred during the previous year. The latter joined the Earl of Warwick, who was again plotting the downfall of the reigning King, and the pair took up arms with the design of dethroning Edward; but not meeting with the support they expected, and

<sup>1</sup> We are not aware of any definite evidence that John Halle was ever a supporter of the House of Lancaster, and we must confess ourselves unable to find in the ornaments of his Hall any striking signs of a subsequent devotion to the House of York: apart from the two Roses, the various arms, badges, and other symbols suit either side, and it seems not impossible that John Halle introduced the two Roses with the intention of adding the crown to whichever should prove successful in the end. In our opinion, the worthy merchant was an opportunist, and cared little which side was victorious, so long as the wool trade was not interfered with: in this respect he probably shared the opinions of a large proportion of persons of his class.—ED.



experiencing many difficulties, they betook themselves to the Court of France, where they succeeded in procuring assistance, and having obtained ships, troops, and money, they effected a landing at Dartmouth in September, 1470, and prepared to march on London, seize Edward, and replace him on the throne by the deposed Henry, then still a prisoner in the Tower. With a view to increasing their forces on the road, they issued a manifesto, commanding all capable of bearing arms to join their army, and they sent an express messenger to Salisbury, requiring that city to furnish them at once with forty armed men.

Meanwhile Edward, anticipating that this course might be taken by his enemies, lost no time in taking counter action by despatching a squire of his own bodyguard and commanding that no aid should be given to the invaders, but every resistance offered to them. The messengers of both parties arrived at Salisbury simultaneously, placing the city in a most pitiable dilemma. Being anxious in this predicament to temporise and offend neither, the Corporation managed to fix on a course calculated to displease both parties. They temporised, they passed resolutions, they pleaded their inability to find forty armed men, and at last, as the Ledger of the Corporation expresses it, *pro media pace habenda*, they agreed to send to Clarence and Warwick forty marks instead of forty men, this sum being easily made up. The arrangement, however, satisfied neither of the authorised messengers, and this temporising policy clearly put the city in the wrong with both parties, as the Earl despised the offer of money in the place of men, and Edward considered it as a help given to his adversary. The advancing army threatened to lay the city in ruins if the behest was not obeyed : the place was in imminent peril, and it appears that only John Halle kept his head, and came to the rescue by sending an immediate message to avert the more pressing danger, and undertaking to provide the forty men with the forty marks assigned to the invaders. When charged with intending to deceive the Corporation and keep the money, he replied : " Give me a month or so, and I will procure letters from the Duke of Clarence



and the Earl of Warwick, testifying that there are forty men in my company—aye, all clothed and paid by me.”

By this action the enemy was appeased and Halle gained time. Meanwhile events moved rapidly: Edward fled to Flanders, and Henry was restored to the throne early in October: during the brief Lancastrian restoration John Halle appears to have been Mayor, or to have acted as Deputy-Mayor, and as such he received letters of commission from the Duke of Somerset, in the name of Henry, enjoining the city to find forty men in the Lancastrian interest. What reply was made to this requisition is not known. Edward returned to England early in March, 1471, and the victories of Barnet and Tewkesbury seated him once more securely on the throne. It would be interesting to know whether the King ever heard the particulars of the transactions in which John Halle took so notable a part, whether the messenger had reported the opportunist policy pursued by the Mayor to secure the safety of his city, and if so, whether Edward was satisfied. All that can be known from the evidence available is that John was not molested or punished. From henceforth his name does not appear in any public position, and he was probably enjoying his ease in wealth and comfort in his newly-finished mansion. He died on October 18th, 1479, and his biographers have not been able to discover that he left a will.

Two *inquisitiones post mortem* relating to John Halle's property in the Counties of Hants and Wilts, taken within a month of his death at New Sarum and Southampton, have been preserved, but these do not include his mansion or any of the houses he held in Salisbury.<sup>1</sup> The property mentioned consisted of two messuages, two yard-lands, and their appurtenances in Bedeston and Newton Tony in Wiltshire, and he held more extensive property in Hants, where he possessed the manor of Shipton Berynger, the adjoining estate of Snodyngton, near Ambresbury, afterwards held by the Dean and

<sup>1</sup> Probably a separate inquisition was taken for the City of Salisbury.

Chapter of Winchester, the manors of Swathelyn, Alyngton, and Nutshelyng, near Southampton, and one messuage and two plough-lands in the parish of Grately, near Andover. It appears that no forfeiture or payment of any kind accrued to the Crown, as John Halle had never been attainted of treason and was English born, and his son had attained his majority at the time of his father's death and came into possession at once. The direct descendants of John Halle became extinct in the third generation: his son, William Halle of Skipton, left an only daughter and heiress, who married Sir Thomas Wriothesley. With her the name of Halle of Salisbury disappeared, but it is still enshrined in the splendid Hall, which happily is preserved and remains so admirable a specimen of mediæval architecture.<sup>1</sup>

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#### APPENDIX.

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The following letters, etc., are extracted from the Records of the City of Salisbury:—

##### 1.

By the Kynge.

Trusty and wel beloved we grete you wele latynge you wite that now late John Halle youre Maire toke upon hym in youre name and his to opyn and shewe unto us by bille, mater of variaunce dependynge be twixte the ryght reverende Fader in God our trusty and wel beloved Conseillour the Byshop of Sarum on that one partie, and you and oure Cite of the same on that other partie atte whiche tyme all thoughe the seid reverende Fader in that Mater be hadde hym righte soberly discretely and to the peas thereof right conformable

<sup>1</sup> The Hall is now part of the premises occupied by Messrs. Watson and Co., china merchants, who make use of it as a show-room. It is carefully preserved, and every facility for inspection is afforded to visitors.

offrynge to abyde in the same the rule and ordinance of us and oure Counsel the same John of the olde rancour and malice that he hath borne towarde the saide reverende Fader as hit shulde seem contrary to his parte and dute, brake out of the saide mater concernynge the seid Cite in to his owen matiers. Wherby he shewed hym self right sedicious hasty wilfull and of full unwitty disposicion whereof and divers others matiers us movyng we have co'mytted the said John Halle in to suche a place as he shal be kept and as hit apperteyneth to us to do of right unto suche tyme as we shal be otherwise avised.

Wherefore sith it is so that it is necessary to the seid Cite to be in rule and governaunce of a Maire and Governor duryng the tyme that the seid John is likely to be absent for dyvers consideracons, and also that he is nat of suche sadnesse and habilité for many causes as shoulde s'rue necessarily for the good and politique guydyng of the same. We will and desire you that accordynge to suche privileges and liberties as by oure noble progenitors have be graunted to the predecessours—Ye in all goodly haste uppon the sight of thies letters fully applie and dispose you to procede to an election of an nother mayre of sad and sobre and discrete disposicion in the roome and place of the seid John the same p'sone so of newe to be chosyn to take his power and auctorite as of olde tyme hath be used. Yeven undre oure signette atte our Palois of Westmynstre the xxii day of Auguste.

To oure trusty and wel beloved the citizens and Commons of the Cite of Newe Salisbury.

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2.

By the Kynge.

Trusty and wel beloved we grete you wele and how it be that we late addressed unto you oure lres and notyfyed unto you by the same that for the causes and consideracons therein contayned We had co'mytted John Halle youre Mayre of the Cite of Salisbury and willed and desired you for the seid consideracons to have proceeded to th' ellecon of an other Maire in the roome and the place of the seid John. Yet nathelesse it is to us reported to

oure grete marvaile that ye have nat to doo whereby ye have ministred unto us cause of grete displeasure. We therefor eftsones write unto you. Willynge and charynge you that ye in all possible haste after the sighte of theis l'res fully applie and dispose you to procede to an ellection of an other maire of our seid Cite of sad discrete and sobre disposic'on in the place of the seid John accordynge to oure seid former writynge or else that xii or viii of you atte the leste for and in the name of you alle appeare before us and the Lords of our Counsaile at oure Palois of Westmynstre in the Ocptes of Michaelmasse next comynge to shewe the cause whi ye have not performed oure seid desire and comaundement and to answeere to suche thyngs concernynge the same as then shal be laied and obiected agenste you. And that ye faile not herof as ye woll aboide the lawfull perill that of the contrary may ensue. Yeven undre our signette at our seide Palois the xxiii day of Septembre.

To our trusty and wel beloved citizens and Co'mons of the Cite of Newe Salisbury.

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3.

MINUTE OF CONVOCATION STANDING IN THE "LEGER" OF  
THE CITY OF SALISBURY.

At a convocation held on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Michael in the fifth of Edward the Fourth, before William Wotton, Lieutenant of the Office of the Mayoralty of the City of New Sarum, in the absence of John Halle, Mayor of the same City. It is agreed that William Wotton, William Hore the elder, John Wise, Draper, John Hylle, William Shyrwode, Guy Rutter, Nichs Mason, Brewer, William Pole, taverner, and Thomas Loker, in the place and name of all the Citizens of the City aforesaid, by virtue and authority of Letters Patent under the Common Seal then and there publicly sealed, do certify to our Lord the King, the causes why they cannot proceed to the election of a Mayor in the room and place of John Halle.

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## 4.

By the Kyng.

Trusty and wel beloved we grete you wele and where as nowe late to th' entente that a good direccion and acorde myghte be sette in the matiers of difference and discorde betwix the Reverende Fader in God our trusty and wel beloved the Bisshop of Salisbury, and you, We desire ye shulde sende unto us and oure Counsaile iij or vi personnes with sufficient auctorite on youre behalf to com'une trete appointe and conclude in all the seid maters accordynge whereunto ye have made suche an authorite how be it the principall persone named therein (whiche is called John Halle) is for certaine offenses and rottous demeanyng in warde and nat atte his liberte. Wherfore sith suche persones as shall entende to the seid matiers muste be atte their large and freedom considerynge also that we conseyve ye effectually desyre the seid variaunces to be eased and sette at reste. We woll and desire that ye puttyng in the place of the seid Halle another persone suche as ye thynke beste sende heder in all haste the same auctorite to th' entente above seid. Yeven undre oure privie seale atte Westminster, the xiiij day of November.

To oure trusty and wel beloved the Citizens and inhabitants of Newe Sarum.

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## 5.

THE LETTER FROM THE DEPUTATION (SENT TO WESTMINSTER)  
WHICH WAS DESPATCHED TO THE CITY OF SALISBURY.

Right Reverend Sirs and Brethren, we com'aund us unto you assuring you yt. after oure apparence before the King and Lords of his Counsaile for as muche yt. John Halle named principal in oure auctorite was by the Kynges High Com'aundement in ward and nat at his libertie it was considered by the same yt. a new auctorite shold be made by an other privie Seale the which was delivered to us on Friday last past for the spede of the whiche we h'tly pray you yt. anon after the syght of the sayde privie seale and of yis oure writinge ye assemble the peple and procede to the execution of the seid privie seale and th' auctorite so ensealed sende to us the same in all haste possible yt. we may procede

ferrer in expedic'on of us and eschuyng of costs of the Cite the  
whiche be not small sitthe our comynge hider and the Holy gost  
be among you. Wrote in London on the xvii day of November.

By Yor Brethren  
J. Aport  
J. Chafyn  
Joe Hampton  
J. Chippenham  
Ths Pyrie

To Willm Wotton the Maior Lieutenant of Sarum and to the  
Citizens and the Inhabitaunta in the same.





THE  
COLOUR OF THE SKY IN THE SYMBOLISM  
OF ANCIENT ART AND FOLK-LORE.

By J. HOLDEN MACMICHAEL, Esq.



T has been supposed that because the word "blue," as an epithet of the sky, is not to be found in the sacred writings and heroic poetry of antiquity, therefore the peoples to whom these books belonged did not possess a discriminating or fully-developed sense of colour. But the validity of this argument is somewhat annulled by the fact of the azure of the sky, having co-existed with other natural objects for which no Indo-European term survives, as, for instance, "river," "egg," "butter," or the human skin. We must not, in fact, as Dr. Axon observes,<sup>1</sup> confuse mere poverty of nomenclature with defective perception. And this absence of allusion to the heavens in their normal colour aspect is, no doubt, due to prior and all-pervading conceptions of Light and Darkness, Day and Night. We read how Sarpedon, the light that creeps along the sky, came from Lykia, the land of light; how he was slain far away in the west, and how Thanatos and Hypnos, Sleep and Death, bore him homeward through the silent hours of the night, and laid him on his threshold by the banks of Xanthos, the golden river, as the first streak of dawn shot along the blue

<sup>1</sup> *Stray Chapters in Literature, Folk Lore, and Archaeology*, 1888, p. 26.

fields of heaven.<sup>1</sup> And as early man, with greater diffidence, in that he was already acquainted with Sleep and Death, felt his way perplexedly across the desert of Earth, he required words and symbols to express first of all this sense of Light and Darkness and of Heaven and Earth, and the conceptions he formed of those visible conditions resolved themselves into the numerous dualisms with which the study of Comparative Mythology has made us familiar—dualisms by which it was no more necessary to express the fact of the heavens being blue, than it was of the earth being green, especially as the sky was not always blue, nor the earth always green. But through the development of human intelligence, which recognised in light and darkness the two primitive colours of black and white, came the gradual discovery of all other colours, till history presents to us the plain, as distinct from the demi-tints which we find in Indian, Egyptian, and Etruscan art.

At this period colours became, as some one has described them, “the hieroglyphics of heavenly secrets,” and first in this celestial code, if we consider the frequency with which it is encountered in Pagan and Christian art, was the sapphire colour of the sky—“the time-vesture of the Eternal.” This is, no doubt, because “le blew tendre de Saphir,” as Grimouard de St. Laurent calls it, is the impenetrable veil foreclosing from earthly ken the mysteries of Life and Death—mysteries born of that secrecy which is the “plan of campaign” mapped out for human enterprise, and which, as Carlyle says, “we have no need to understand, seeing well what is at hand to be done.” The association of blue with the human virtues is a cult, of which the earliest instance, so far as our own country is concerned, may perhaps be seen in the use to which the colour was put by our warrior British ancestors, when they stained their virile bodies with woad, preparatory to some tribal conflict. For considering that blue among them was a sacred colour, it is more probable that it was used

<sup>1</sup> Cox and Jones, *Popular Romances of the Middle Ages*, 1871, p. 10. It should be noted, however, that this is a considerable expansion of the Homeric account.



as an incentive to valour, and that their tattooings were of talismanic signification—both, perhaps, inspiring them with thoughts of a happy hereafter—than that it was employed merely to terrify their enemies.<sup>1</sup> This custom of painting and tattooing their bodies continued down to the seventh century:<sup>2</sup> indeed, it is not yet extinct; for the anchors, ships, and other objects which sailors are in the habit of inscribing by means of indigo or gunpowder on their breasts and arms, may be regarded as a direct tradition of the ancient practice.

The blue curtain of heaven, behind which dwelt, in the language of the Aztecs and the Quiches, “the Heart of the Sky,” “the Lord of the Sky,” “the Prince of the Azure Hemisphere,” provided, too, one of the earliest suggestions, perhaps the earliest, for decorative art as it occurs in ancient architecture, the earthly temples of the ancients thus reminding them symbolically of the temple of the eternal and the mansions of the gods. In the great temple of Karnac, in the principal of the three rooms comprising the *adytum*, the secret chamber to which the right of admission was denied to all but the priests, three blocks of granite form the roof, which was painted with clusters of gilt stars on a blue ground. And again in the description by Diodorus Siculus<sup>3</sup> of the roof of the sepulchre of King Osymandyas—who, like the Persian monarchs of to-day, styles himself “the King of Kings,” and says that “if any one would know how great I am, and where I lie, let him excel me in any of my works”—he states that it was built entirely of stone, eight cubits broad, with an azure sky, bespangled

<sup>1</sup> Pomponius Mela (lib. iii, c. vi) expresses himself as uncertain for what purpose it was done—whether it was to add to their beauty, or for some other reason unknown to him; *incertum ob decorem, an quid aliud, vitæ corpora infecti*.

<sup>2</sup> O’Curry’s *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, edited by W. K. Sullivan, 1873, vol. i, intro., pp. cliv, ccciii, and ccciv. As to the modern manufacture of woad, see Baring Gould’s *Book of the West*, vol. ii, pp. 248-50.

<sup>3</sup> *Biblical History*, translated by G. Booth, 1700, book i, ch. iv, p. 25.

with stars. And, to mention later instances in our own country, there is the star-powdered roof of the judicial court famous in history as the Star Chamber.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the blue swords painted on the tomb of Rameses IV represent the sword of justice.<sup>2</sup> The roof of Clopton chantry in Long Melford, Suffolk, was formed of panels with stars made of lead, which were gilt, and the ceilings of churches and theatres<sup>3</sup> were formerly so decorated as to represent the canopy of heaven. The fabric of the baldachin is often blue for the same symbolic reason, and a star is sometimes embroidered on the blue mantle—sometimes on the blue veil—of the Blessed Virgin, when it would be understood to appertain to any one of her varying titles—"Stella Maris," "Stella Jacobi," "Stella non erratica," and "Stella Matutina."<sup>4</sup> In the miniatures and *lettres historiées* of mediæval MSS., where pictures of the Blessed Virgin occur, she almost invariably wears the traditional blue mantle. Not always, however. Sometimes in her flight into Egypt she wears a brown mantle, emblem of her grief, and sometimes she is represented in vestments of green "pour indiquer soit la vie de la grace qui ne s'éteignit jamais en elle, soit le privilège qui l'affranchit de la corruption du tombeau." Of the tan-colour, or brown, in the arts of antiquity and the middle-ages, Portal says it was "un signe de deuil. Les Juifs portaient des cilices noirs ou brun. Sur les anciennes

<sup>1</sup> Walpole's *Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England*, 1758, has a frontispiece representing Earl Rivers proffering to King Edward IV his book, and introducing Caxton, its printer. The King is seated in a chamber with a star-spangled roof. The present ceiling of the choir of Carlisle Cathedral is painted blue with gilt stars.

<sup>2</sup> *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, par Champollion le Jeune, 1845, Tom. III, p. cclxiv.

<sup>3</sup> I do not know why blue is, all the world over, an unlucky colour among players. See *Notes* at the end of vol. ii of the *Folk-Lore Record*, 1879, p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> With regard to the symbolism of the five-pointed star among the ancient Egyptians see A. T. Cory's *Hieroglyphics of Horapollo*, 1840, p. 30, and to the pre-Christian use of the eight-rayed star, as a symbol see *Archæologia*, vol. xlviii, pp. 241, 242.

peintures qui représentent la personne du Christ, on voit souvent des personnages vêtus de robes brunes."<sup>1</sup> Blue and brown together signify patience in adversity, and thus we see the dress of the Virgin figured sometimes in ancient manuscripts. She wears in one instance a brown tunic and blue mantle,<sup>2</sup> and in another a violet mantle and brown tunic.<sup>3</sup> In the illustrated *Travels of Sir John Maunderville*, 1366, "the image of Our Lady" is represented in a light-brown mantle. In the adaptation of mythological symbols to Christian uses, the blue veil of the Blessed Virgin, with which she is generally represented, whether with her Divine Son, or in the position of an *orante*, has a parallel in the blue veil of Isis with the infant Horus, and a veil is also drawn back at the sides of the head in a representation of the Babylonian Goddess-Mother Ma-Ma with infant in arms,<sup>4</sup> but whether this was blue or not one cannot with certainty say. What is more certain, as I understand from Mr. Boscawen, is that the blue veil was commonly worn by the Babylonian women. The deep dark blue of the eastern sky entered largely into the decorative art of the Assyrians, if one may judge by examples of which illustrations may be seen in Victor Place's *Nine et l'Assyrie*, 1867.<sup>5</sup> The blue veil of Isis is frequently represented in ancient Egyptian art, notably, for instance, on the bottom of the painted wooden coffin of Ta-aah-titi, a lady of the college of Amen-Ra at Thebes. Among the mummy antiquities in the First Egyptian Room at the British Museum, in a monument in the Temple of Philæ,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Des Couleurs Symboliques*, par Frédéric Portal, 1857.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Burn. 275, ff. 113 and 184. British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> MS. 17, cxxxviii, f. 29. *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Kitto's *Illustr. Com.*, vol. iv, p. 31. A statuette of what is thought to be the Babylonian Goddess Mother with infant at her breast was found in a Greek tomb at Hillah, near Babylon. See *Greek Terra-Cotta Statuettes*, by Marcus B. Huish, 1900.

<sup>5</sup> Tom. III, plates 14, 15, 16, 17, 24, 28, 29, 30, 31. See also *The Monuments of Nineveh*, by A. H. Layard, 1849, plates 86 and 87.

<sup>6</sup> *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, par Champollion le Jeune, 1815, planche lxxxi, Fig. 4. See also a painting copied from the tomb



on painted *piliers Isiaques* of the eighteenth dynasty ; in portraits of Queen Nebto, daughter of Rameses-Meriamen of the nineteenth dynasty, and of Queen Tii, wife of Amenophis III of the eighteenth dynasty.<sup>1</sup> The Phrygian goddess Cybele, worshipped by the Greeks as Rhea, corresponds in many respects to the Egyptian Isis. Although she is represented with a veiled countenance, the colour of the veil is not stated, but she is clothed by Martianus Capella, says Winckelmann,<sup>2</sup> in green, as Goddess of the Earth, so that her veil also was probably of that hue. Fuss says she was represented as a matron, with a veil over her countenance, symbolical of the secret operations of Nature.<sup>3</sup> The diadem which encircled the bonnet worn by the Kings of Persia, Armenia, and Parthia which had a tall stiff and straight crown, was blue ornamented with white spots.<sup>4</sup> The mitre of the Jewish, high-priest was of a blue colour, and seemed to Josephus "to mean heaven."<sup>5</sup> So, also, one of the four veils of the Tabernacle representing the four elements, was blue, to signify the air;<sup>6</sup> and the long, bell-fringed garment of the high-priest was blue and "denoted the sky."<sup>7</sup> Juno, says Winckelmann, in reference to the sky, of which she is emblematic, may be dressed in azure, but Martianus Capella mentions her as wearing a white veil. Pallas, says the same authority, usually wore an azure-coloured mantle, and the character of Minerva's robe, or *peplum*, is fully discussed in Rich's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman*

of Rameses IV, tom. III, planche ccxxii, and tom. I, planche lxxxvi, where two figures—one blue and the other green—represent the Nile, "le Nourricieur de l'Égypte dans ses diverses phases."

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de l'Art Égyptien*, par Prisse d'Avennes, 1878.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Art*.

<sup>3</sup> *Roman Antiquities*, trans. 1840, ch. iv, p. 306.

<sup>4</sup> Rich's *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 1875, s.v. *cidaris*.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiquities*, bk. III, chap. vii, sec. 7; also *Wars*, bk. v, chap. v, sec. 4, and 2 Chronicles, iii, 14. Concerning the veil of the Temple of Isis, and of Diana of the Ephesians, see Edward Falkener's *Ephesus and the Temple of Diana*, 1862, p. 297.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, sec. 4.



*Antiquities.* The general use of the *falling* veil is of modern rather than of ancient origin, and is by no means general in ancient times, having been adopted either for purposes of personal adornment or, as in the case of Rebekah on meeting Isaac, by betrothed maidens in the presence of their future husbands to hide the blushes of the bride. The Chinese bride's face is hidden by a long *white* veil, not unlike that worn by the Egyptian women when they venture abroad. This points to a motive similar to that inducing, among the Anglo-Saxons, the use of the cere-cloth,<sup>1</sup> a fine linen cloth which was formerly laid over the heads of the newly-married couples as they knelt till Mass was ended, a custom surviving in the modern bridal veil, which had its origin, no doubt, in the idea, as among the Chinese, of hiding the blushes of the bride. To this day the peasant woman of Egypt wears over her head a large *blue* veil which envelops her person, and is made of *casta*, the cotton fabric of the country, or a stout checked cotton of blue or white with a border, called a *meliah*, or, as Lane calls it, a *mil'ayeh*. But this veil is a very different thing from what is understood by such an appendage in the West of Europe, and is utilised in various ways as a pocket or basket, being made of anything but light and transparent material.<sup>2</sup> Judging from its use in Egypt to the present day, the blue veil was not employed wholly by way of symbolism, but was only a protection from the burning sun. For this practical reason it was formerly considered an indispensable article of apparel on a hot Derby-day, and is still much affected by the *touriste* and *automobiliste*. Blue in Syria is to this day held to be a lucky colour. Hence it is often used on trappings and in children's dress. Blue plates, or saucers, are often let into the side of a Moslem tomb.<sup>3</sup> When the Syrian

<sup>1</sup> See N. B. Denny's *Folk Lore of China*, 1876, p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Ruth, iii, 15, and Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, 1846, vol. i. pp. 72-77.

<sup>3</sup> *Folk-Lore*, June, 1895, p. 171. *Notes from Syria*, by W. H. O. Rouse.

peasant hangs strings of blue beads around horses' necks, or twists a few into the mane or tail,<sup>1</sup> it is probably because he believed that if the Evil Eye alight upon the animals, the offending stroke will be warded off by contact with the symbolic colour of the sky.

In all early representations of the Blessed Virgin it is the head, and not the face, that is covered by the veil, and one is inclined to think that the symbolic application of the celestial colour of the veil was intended as an allusion to her early acquired title of "Queen of Heaven." The painting of the Blessed Virgin on the vaulted roof of a *loculus* in the cemetery of Priscilla is deemed by De Rossi to belong almost to the apostolic age. But there is no sign of blue about either her mantle or her short light veil. The former appears to be white, or, more strictly speaking, of the "Isabel" colour. In later times, it is only in representations, I think, of the Assumption that the mantle is white.<sup>2</sup> A painting in the cemetery of St. Agnes is said to be the earliest representation existing of the Virgin and Child, of the type afterwards called Byzantine. In this the dress and veil of the Virgin are a decided purple, or perhaps, to speak more accurately, of an indigo hue, the date being somewhere between A.D. 312 and 350, and one would have thought that this early symbolic use of what was designedly cerulean blue, had some connection with what was later her fully-established title of "Queen of Heaven," as it appertained in a different and Pagan sense to Isis, Astarte, etc. Isis was probably considered, in the Pagan world that was beginning to adopt the tenets of Christianity, one of the historical prototypes of the Blessed Virgin. Dr. Sharpe reminds us that the worship of Osiris and Serapis, as the wrathful god to be feared, and of Isis and Horus, as the merciful gods to be loved, was at its height when Anthony and Cleopatra were con-

<sup>1</sup> *Folk-Lore*, March, 1898, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> For instance, MS. 2 B. VI. f. 12 b., Brit. Mus., and Lacroix, *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, 1869, where, in a book of Hours once belonging to Catherine de Medicis, the Blessed Virgin is clothed, like the Angel of the Salutation, in white.

quered by Augustus, and Egypt became a Roman province; and Juvenal says that the Roman painters almost lived upon the goddess Isis, such was the popularity of that most winning form of worship, which is still continued there in the pictures of the Virgin Mary with the Infant Jesus in her arms.<sup>1</sup> And as the influence of the Egyptian deity was a beneficent one, so in the countenance of the Blessed Virgin is reflected by ancient and mediæval art all that is beautiful in Christian womanhood that could be attributed to her, short of deification. So early as the seventh century she is represented in a distinctly blue—cerulean, not indigo blue—veil and robe, in a medallion portrait over the royal door in the *narthex* of St. Sophia at Constantinople. This medallion belongs to the time of Constantine Pogonatus, 668-685. A still earlier instance occurs in the cupola of the church of St. Sophia at Salonica, ascribed by M. Texier to the middle of the sixth century, which contains a mosaic of the Ascension, the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles being ranged round the base of the hemisphere. She alone is nimbed, and wears the conventional veil and purple robe.<sup>2</sup> This remarkable parallel of the blue veil is not noticed by Mrs. Jameson in her *Legends of the Madonna*, where, however, she does observe that St. Cyril of Alexandria, who played so important a part in the Nestorian controversy as to the Θεοτόκος, and had so much to do in fixing the dogma, must in the episcopal city have become familiar with the Egyptian group of Isis nursing the infant Horus, which may have suggested the analogous Christian subject, even as at an earlier date the Good Shepherd was derived from a classical type.

Blue was a favourite colour for the neck-charms, and small figures worn by the ancient Egyptians at private worship are attached to the mummies of the dead.

<sup>1</sup> *Egyptian Mythology*, pp. 85-86. See also his *History of Egypt*, 1876, ch. xiv, sec. 25.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Edmund Venables, in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s.v. "Mary."

Egyptian glass, too, is generally of this colour. The colour, at all events, of the former certainly seems to point to their association in the Egyptian mythology with the celestial gods, especially as many of them represent Isis with the infant Horus.

Blue, no doubt, possessed a mystic signification among the Scandinavians, whose "celestial mansions" must almost of necessity have been expressed symbolically by the azure of the sky. And that it had its place in the folk-medicine of the North is evident from its being even to-day the custom among the women on the banks of the Ale and the Teviot to wear round their necks woollen threads or cords of blue, till they wean their children, doing this for the purpose of averting ephemeral fevers, or, as they call them, "weeds or onfas." These are handed down from mother to daughter, and esteemed in proportion to their antiquity.<sup>1</sup> Probably these threads had originally received some blessing or charm, and thus would lead one to suppose that it was the properly-coloured thread to receive such a blessing—for was not blue the Virgin's own colour?<sup>2</sup> It is assigned to women generally in a curious old stanza quoted by O'Curry from the *Book of Ballymote*, and headed with the Latin words "Ordo vestimentorum per colores"—i.e., the order of the cloths according to their colours:—

"Mottled to simpletons; blue to women;  
Crimson to Kings of every host;  
Green and black to noble laymen;  
White to clerics of proper devotion."<sup>3</sup>

Among country remedies in England a blue ribbon round the neck acts as a charm against croup.<sup>4</sup> In old times in Yorkshire the bride used to wear large true-blue bows across her breast, lessening in number and size till they reached the waist, and a corpse of an Andalusian child

<sup>1</sup> Henderson's *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*, 1866, pp. 12-13.

<sup>2</sup> *The Antiquary*, March, 1880, pp. 111-112.

<sup>3</sup> O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, 1873, vol. iii, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> *Folk-Lore*, Dec., 1897, p. 390.



is dressed in white and adorned with flowers and blue ribbons.<sup>1</sup> The belief, says Mr. Theselton Dyer, that a child with a blue vein across its nose could not live long, is not confined to the West of England, but crops up here and there throughout the country. In the old couplet directing that the bride shall wear

“Something old, something new,  
Something borrowed, something blue,”

the “something blue” is to keep off the evil eye, and being the “true-blue” of heaven, it was well calculated among simple folk to do so. It symbolised unwavering constancy : hence it is a West Sussex superstition that

“Those dressed in blue  
Have lovers true ;  
In green and white,  
Forsaken quite ;<sup>2</sup>

and colour-lore in North-East Scotland was introduced in the words :—

“Blue  
's love true,  
Green  
's love deen (done),  
Yellow  
's forsaken.”<sup>3</sup>

Blue may be commonly found to have preserved its colour in the crude arts of remote antiquity, where others, with the exception of gold and red, have hopelessly faded.<sup>4</sup> In the sepulchral monuments of Etruria Mr. Dennis found the colours were too readily liable to be removed by a touch of the hand or by the casual contact of one's coat or dress in passing. It seems questionable whether, as Mr. Dennis thinks, the colours used in the pictorial art of Etruria were *merely* employed “to arrest the eye by startling contrasts”; and if, as he remarks

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine Library, Manners and Customs*, pp. 61, *seq.*, and *The Leisure Hour*, Oct., 1885.

<sup>2</sup> *Folk-Lore Record*, vol. i, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *The Folk Lore of North-East Scotland*, by W. Gregor ; *Chambers's Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, 1870, p. 341.

<sup>4</sup> Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités Egyptiennes*, 1752, tom. i, pp. 193-4.

further on, "he does not pretend to explain the significance of the figures on an Etruscan painted tomb," he can hardly be expected to explain the symbolism of their colours. It does not, however, follow that because no explanation has occurred to him, therefore the colours possess no symbolic meaning.<sup>1</sup> The blue in the composition of the colours found on the wall of the Roman house discovered at Bignor in Sussex in the early part of the last century, was an artificial ultramarine composed of peroxide of copper, silica, and alkali, and is of the same kind as the colour said by Vitruvius to have been discovered in Egypt, and which was manufactured in his time at Puteoli.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, pp. lxxxv and 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xviii, p. 222.





## NOTES ON SOME SCULPTURED NORMAN TYMPANA AND LINTELS.

BY CHARLES E. KEYSER, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., PRESIDENT.



IN July, 1904, I ventured to issue to the public, as the result of many years' study, a work entitled a *List of Norman Tympana and Lintels with Figure or Symbolical Sculpture still or till recently existing in the Churches of Great Britain*. In this volume 212 examples were cited, and 156 photographie illustrations and one woodcut included of the most noteworthy and important specimens. As almost all the topographical works, Proceedings of Archæological Societies, etc., had been consulted, it was hoped that very few instances had escaped the notice of the author, but it was of course inevitable that a few should have remained unrecorded, and, as a matter of fact, eight more have been discovered, and two have been brought to light during restoration work, since the publication of the *List*. No doubt others are still preserved unnoticed in some remote churches, and it is hoped that they may be added to the record at an early date. The examples omitted in the *List* are at

Burgh-on-Sands and Ireby, Cumberland ;  
Little Casterton, Rutlandshire ;  
Northampton, St. Sepulchre's Church ;  
Kingswinford, Staffordshire ;  
High Ercal and Uppington, Shropshire ;  
Dumbleton and Dymock, Gloucestershire ; and  
Kirtlington Oxfordshire.

As some of these are of unusual design, it is hoped that a short description of them may not be uninteresting. The

first to be mentioned (Fig. 1) is a small tympanum inserted over the west doorway of the old disused Church of Ireby, Cumberland, and brought to my notice by Mr. A. W. Anderson, A.R.I.B.A., of Watford, who has evinced a great interest in these subjects. Here we find a floriated cross of late (almost thirteenth century) character, and of a different type to the very considerable number of crosses noted in the *List*. It is within a circle and occupies the centre of the tympanum. Of the other new examples no less than five have representations of the Tree of Spiritual Life and Knowledge, making the full number of examples of this subject up to thirty-three. At High Ercal, in Shropshire, a small tympanum (Fig. 2) about 36 in. by 18 in., has been inserted in the interior wall (an illustration of it is given by D. S. H. Cranage in *The Churches of Shropshire*, p. 585) over the north doorway. On it is sculptured a row of ten six-leaved roses within circles round the upper part, and on the main portion a tree with stem and two main shoots ending in a trefoil on each side, and below this five leaves on the west and seven on the east, and above five leaves on either side of a central leaf. It is almost exactly similar to the one at Rochford (Fig. 30 in the *List*), near Ludlow. At Kirtlington Church, Oxfordshire, a small tympanum (Fig. 3), 26 in. by 13 in., was discovered under the white-wash inserted over the lower doorway to the steps leading to the rood-loft on the north side at the east end of the nave. There is a row of upright billets round the semicircular portion, and in the centre is the Tree, with central stem and a branch curling over, with four shoots or leaves on either side. At Dymock, in Gloucestershire, is a very fine Norman doorway, the details of which I have only recently obtained. The arch is enriched with the nail-head, roll, and chevron ornaments, and encloses the tympanum (Fig. 4), on which is a double row of pellets and a half roll round the semicircular portion. In the centre, and filling up most of the space, is a tree of the usual conventional character. It has a straight stem terminating in five shoots at the top and with a main branch on each side with trefoil termination; on either side of each branch is a large leaf on a stem, and





FIG. 1.

IREBY, CUMBERLAND.





FIG. 2

HIGH ERCAL, SHROPSHIRE.

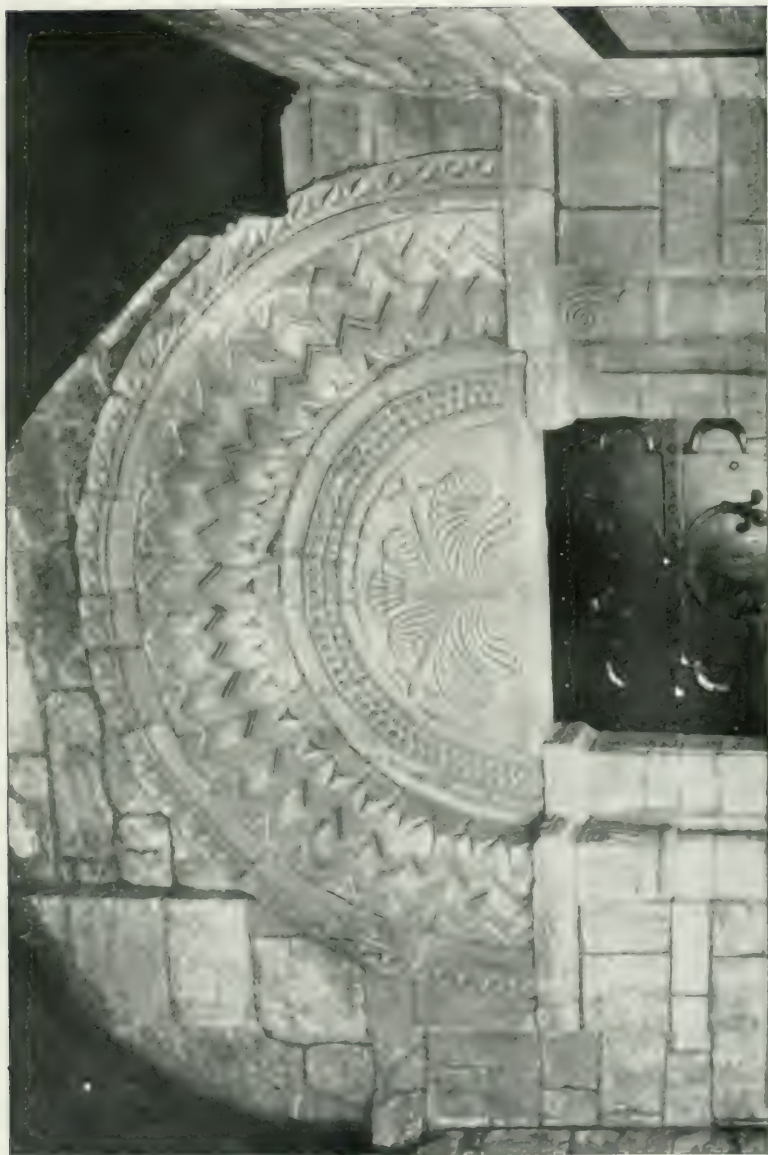






KIRTLINGTON, OXON.





DYMOCK, GLOUCESTERSHIRE







FIG. 5. LITTLE CASTERTON, RUTLANDSHIRE.



from the lower part of the trunk on each side are growing three more shoots or leaves and one more rather more elaborately carved at the bottom.

At Little Casterton Church, Rutlandshire, a small tympanum (Fig. 5) has recently been discovered, face downwards, forming part of the cill of the Early English west window. It is  $36\frac{1}{2}$  in. by 18 in., and fits into the present late Norman north doorway, but probably belonged to the original south doorway now destroyed. On it is sculptured a tree of somewhat unusual design, being narrow and having seven shoots or branches on either side of the stem. Filling up the lower space on each side are three wheels with eight or seven spokes respectively. It is singular that those on the left, which must have been the west side, are much less distinct, and more weatherworn, than those on the other side of the tree. It is difficult to suggest an interpretation of these wheels in conjunction with the Tree of Spiritual Life and Knowledge, unless it is intended to emphasise the doctrine of eternity involved in everything of Divine origin. The illustration is from a negative taken and kindly lent to me by V. B. Crowther Beynon, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., of the Grange, Edith Weston, near Oakham.

At Burgh-on-Sands, Cumberland, I had for some time been trying to obtain information about a tympanum reputed to be in existence there; but it was only in July of last year that I was able to visit the church, and find out for myself what I had previously been unable to ascertain. Let into the west face of the east wall of the curious fortified tower, over the arch leading to the nave, are three portions of what appears to have been a small tympanum, now 45 in. by 11 in. In the centre is the usual conventional tree, with a winged animal on the south, and another animal almost shaved off on the north. A claw behind this indicates the former existence of another animal on this side. The sculpture is somewhat indistinct, and its situation in a very dark chamber, with only a slit for light and air, makes it almost impossible to obtain a photograph of it.

At Uppington Church, Shropshire, is a sculptured tympanum (Fig. 6) over the north doorway, which first

came under my notice through an illustration by Mr. D. S. H. Cranage in his *Churches of Shropshire*, p. 626. Its dimensions are 59 in. by 26 in. A new semicircular piece has been let in to the lower part of the central portion. On it is carved a long, thin dragon, with open mouth and protruding tongue, two fore-legs, claws, wing, and long slender body, terminating in two tails, which are carried with many twists back to the east part of the stone. The dragon is facing east, and in a combatant attitude. The stone is very irregular in its shape.

At Alne Church, Yorkshire, is an oblong tympanum or lintel (Fig. 7) over the south chancel doorway, included in the *List*, p. 2, but not properly elucidated until I was able to pay it a second visit in September, 1908. The dimensions of the stone are 42 in. by  $17\frac{1}{2}$  in., and it is unfortunately so much weatherworn that there is some uncertainty as to its proper interpretation. In the centre, within a circular medallion, are two serpents intertwined in deadly combat, and on either side, outside the circle, is a bird with beak and claws holding the border. Within smaller medallions in the upper corners is on the west a lion, on the east an eagle (?), and it is possible all the evangelistic emblems may have been portrayed. Below the lion is a rose.

One of the most interesting tympana which had previously escaped my notice is over the north doorway at Dumbleton Church, Gloucestershire, and was inspected by me in October, 1907. The arch is a fine and lofty one, with a quaint monster head at the apex, and quarter round, and bold outturned zigzag on the arch. This enclosed the tympanum, which measures about 68 in. by 34 in. (Fig. 8). Round the semicircular part we find a series of saltires within square compartments formed by shallow incised lines, and along the lower portion a band of large raised lozenges.

Enclosed within a frame is a curious sculpture in *alto relievo*, viz., a human head with the ears of an ass, and with three sprigs of foliage, each with three leaves, coming from the mouth. Starting from below the ears on either side is an irregular circular wavy border surrounding the sprigs of foliage. It is not uncommon to





UPPINGTON, SHROPSHIRE.



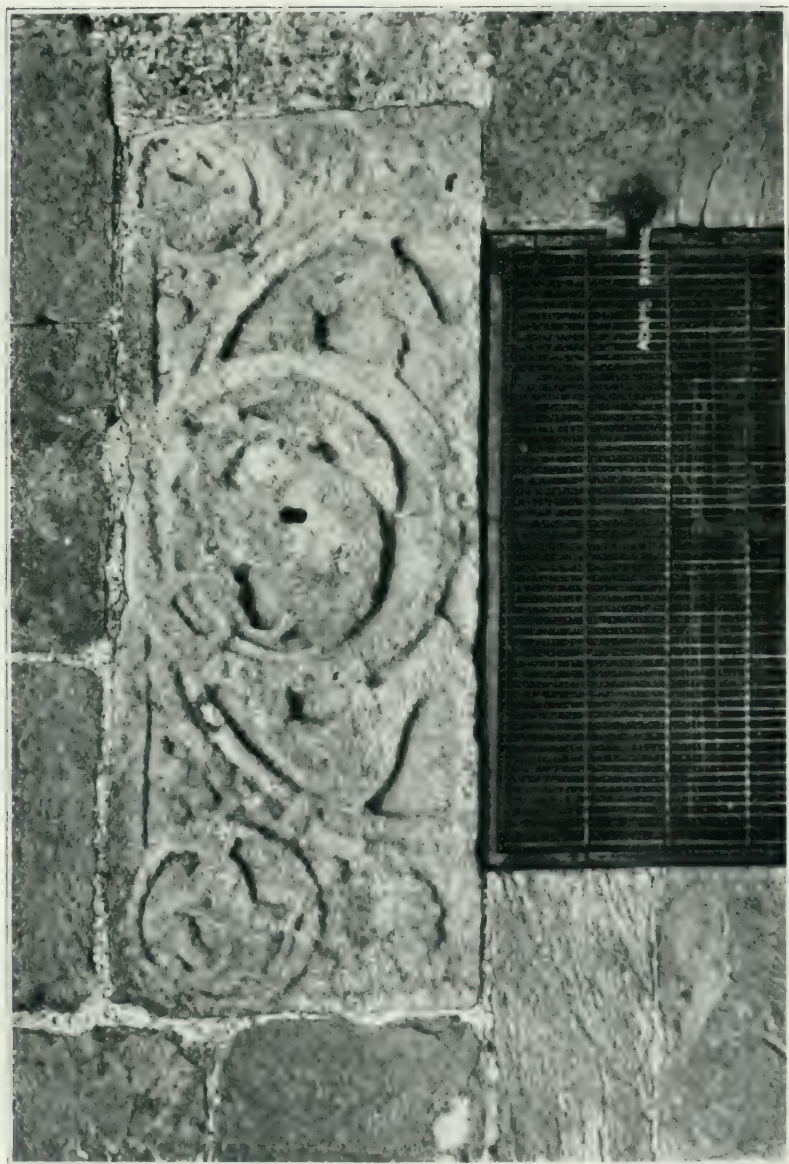


FIG 7.

ALNE, YORKSHIRE.







FIG 8

DUMBLETON, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.



find on the Norman capitals heads with foliage proceeding from the mouth. The interpretation is somewhat uncertain. In the instance at Dumbleton, the head appears to be intended to portray a demon, and the three sprigs the manifold forms of evil which he is capable of spreading abroad. Subjects of this kind, calculated to terrify careless or indifferent worshippers, are often to be noticed, particularly over the north doorways of the Norman churches.

Another very remarkable tympanum, which I had somehow failed to notice, though I had visited the church on several occasions, is that preserved on the interior west wall of the round portion of St. Sepulchre's Church, Northampton (Fig. 9). There is an illustration of it in *The History of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Northampton*, by the Rev. C. Cox and the Rev. R. W. Serjeantson, p. 39. It is of very irregular shape, 33 in. in length by 21 in. in height. This includes a portion of a sort of lintel on the left, and another carried out on the right to enclose the tail of the dragon. In the centre is a bareheaded bearded man; his right arm is being seized by the dragon, while his left is holding a short sword, turned upwards towards a square object beneath his chin. His right leg is turned up and tucked under him, while the left is stretched out above the tail of the dragon. He is in a squatting position. On his right is apparently another small arm grasping another short sword pressed into the right side of his neck. On his right is a large dragon, with jaws close to his right ear. It has an open wing, and with its claws grasps the man between the elbow and wrist of his right arm. It is sitting up, with the lower part of the body and tail, with a twist at the end, carried along under the central portion of the subject, and below the figure on the opposite side. The eye of the dragon is oval, and of the same character as that at St. Nicholas' Church, Ipswich. On the left of the central figure is another grotesque human figure, also bareheaded, grasping a torch in the left hand, the flame towards the left ear, and in his right hand a circular object under the left arm, of the central figure. He has a fat squat body and short legs, and has no

distinctive vestments. The eyes of both figures are oval and boldly cut. The tympanum was probably sculptured in Saxon times, the carving being very rude. It is not easy to suggest the meaning, though there is little doubt that the main figure is much distressed by the attack of the dragon.

On the tympanum at Leckhampstead Church, Buckinghamshire, two dragons are contending over a small long-eared human figure standing between them; and at Charney Bassett, Berkshire, on a tympanum within the church is a crowned figure standing between two griffins, who have seized his arm on either side. At Downe St. Mary's Church, Devonshire, is a similar sculpture. Griffins, dragons, and serpents are constantly introduced in Norman sculpture to typify the evil influences constantly at work in opposition to the teaching of the Christian Church.

At Kingswinford Church, Staffordshire, is another very interesting tympanum, which was only brought to my notice in 1905, and of which a short account with illustration is given in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. lxii, pp. 137-146. It is very large, viz., 68 in. by 34 in., and is now placed over an interior doorway at the west end of the south aisle, though according to Shaw, in *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*, vol. ii, p. 231, it formerly occupied the space over the south doorway. It has been smothered with whitewash, but is otherwise in a good state of preservation. The subject of the sculpture is the contest between St. Michael and the Dragon (Fig. 10).

“As we face the tympanum, the figure of St. Michael occupies the space on the left side of the stone. He is stooping forward sideways, but with the head turned round so as to show the full face. He is bareheaded, as in all the other early representations of this subject, has curly hair, and very large outspread wings, the right behind his back so as to fill up the space on this side, the left extended in front of him, reaching nearly to the other extremity, and almost touching the twisted tail of the dragon writhing beneath. He





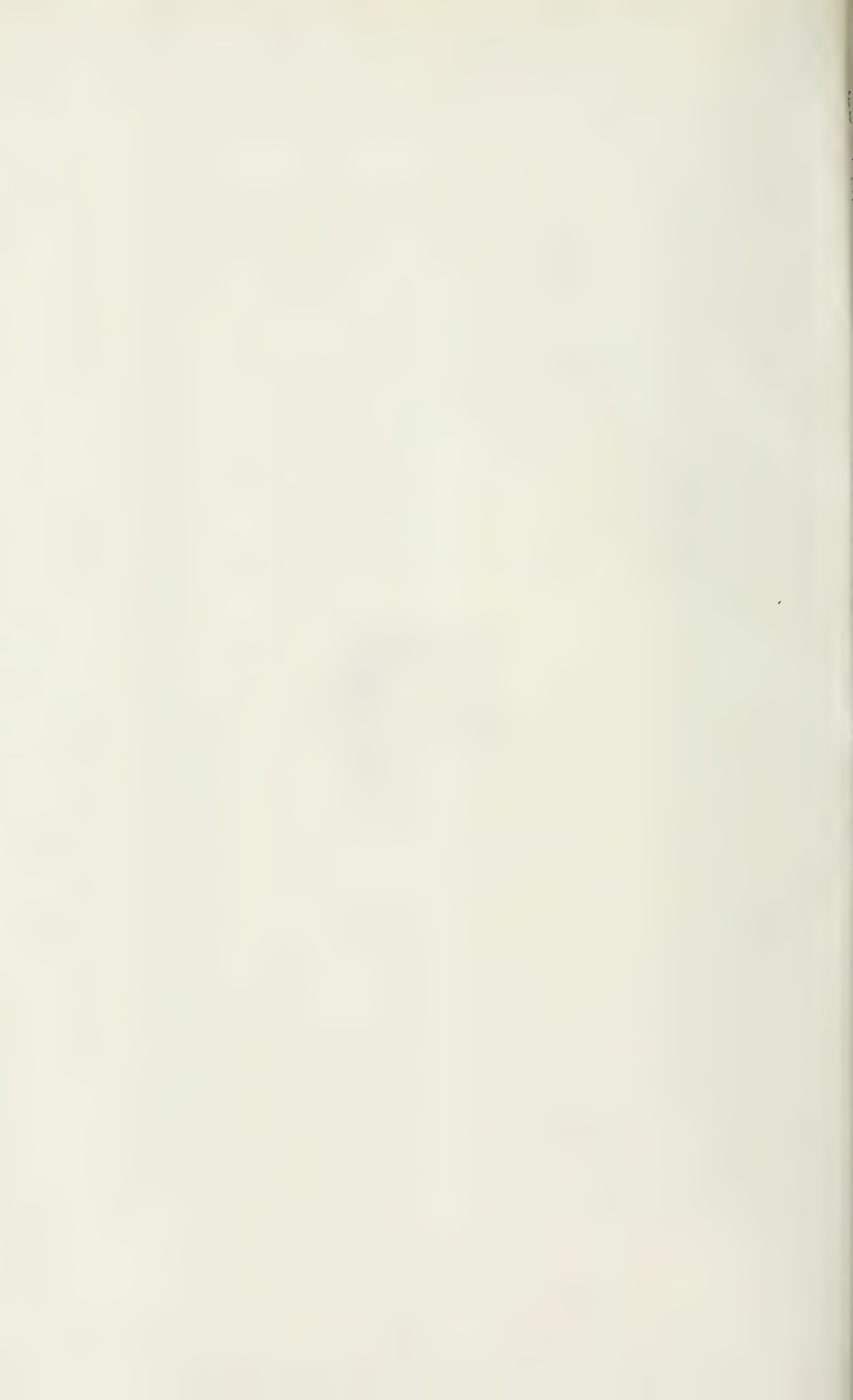
ST SEPULCHRE, NORTHAMPTON.





FIG. 10.

KINGSWINFORD, STAFFORDSHIRE.





is very richly vested, and has a sleeve down to the wrist of the right arm, which alone is shown. His left side is concealed by a large umbrella-shaped shield with a boss surrounded by a beaded circle at the centre, and an outer border of flat circular beads or pellets. This is held above the head of the dragon. St. Michael holds in his right hand a sword, which he is pressing into the open jaws of the dragon, about half the blade having been driven home. This is the only instance where the subject is thus portrayed. In all the other examples where St. Michael holds a sword, he is in the act of striking, but has not, as here, actually delivered the stroke. The dragon is very large and fills up the whole of the space beneath the wing and to the right of the saint. It has a large head with oval eye and small pierced hole to delineate the pupil, long neck, scaly body, feathered wing similar to that of St. Michael, long leg and claw pressed against the back of its neck, and long beaded tail carried in several coils above its back. The head is raised straight up towards the saint, and is receiving the thrust of the sword in the centre of its open jaws, displaying a terrible double row of fangs. The whole composition is spirited, and a good specimen of early sculpture."<sup>1</sup>

It corresponds in many respects with the early representation of this subject at St. Nicholas' Church, Ipswich, and may possibly be of pre-Norman date. The contest of St. Michael and Satan of the Norman or earlier period is to be found, with variations in its treatment, on the tympana at Long Marton, Westmoreland; Southwell and Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire; Hallaton, Leicestershire; St. Nicholas' Church, Ipswich, Suffolk; and Moreton Valence, Gloucestershire; on lintels at St. Bees, Cumberland; Denton, Buckinghamshire, and Harnhill, Gloucestershire; on the head of a window at Stoke-sub-Hamdon, Somersetshire; on the arches of the doorways

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. lxii, p. 138.

at Riccall and Barton-le-Street, Yorkshire ; and on sculptures at Garton-on-the-Wolds, Yorkshire, and Seaford, Sussex. Within the splay of the east window of Copford Church, Essex, this same subject has been depicted.

This completes the list of those tympana with figure sculpture, etc., which have come to my notice up to date. In one more instance, viz., at Upper Swell Church, Gloucestershire, the surface of the tympanum over the south doorway is very rough, and it is probable that some sculpture has been hacked away, but unfortunately nothing now remains. There can be no doubt that in the twelfth century, there must have been a large number of these tympana in our churches, but in later times they seem to have been treated with scant reverence, and even in some instances were removed and destroyed in the nineteenth century. It may, therefore, reasonably be hoped that, in spite of the diligent search for all the surviving examples, there may still be some which have so far evaded my notice, and I shall be grateful to any one who can add to my knowledge on this subject.





Please unfold carefully to  
learning. In refolding, be care-  
ful to refold in original folds. If a  
refolded book, add the assistant to  
for you, rather than to be held wrong.

W. J. 100. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10.



Hic iacet dñs Edward⁹ Trantford quondā Rector  
ist⁹ Eccle. qui obiit dñi. die mens⁹ Augusti Anno  
dñi millo. CCC. XXX. Cum aīē p̄iaret deus Amen.





## THE BRASS OF EDWARD CRANFORD.

BY J. G. N. CLIFT, ESQ., HONORARY SECRETARY.



N the church of St. John the Baptist at Puttenham, within the county of Surrey, there is a small brass to the memory of an obscure parish priest, one Edward Cranford, who died on the 8th of August in the year of our Lord 1431, and the tenth year of the reign of Henry VI.

The figure itself measures only 20 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. in height, and has an extreme width of 5 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. ; the plate bearing the inscription in Gothic lettering measures 15 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. in width, and has a depth of 3 $\frac{1}{8}$  in., and it is placed as usual beneath the figure. The whole composition is affixed to a plain stone slab, forming part of the flooring between the eastern ends of the choir stalls.

The inscription reads as follows :—

*Hic iacet dns Edward' Cranford quondā Rector  
isti' Eccleie . qui obiit viii<sup>o</sup> die mens' augusti anno  
dni millo . cccc<sup>o</sup> . xxxi<sup>o</sup> . Cui' aīe p'piciet' deus amen.*

*Expansion.*

*Hic iacet dominus Edwardus Cranford quondam Rector  
istius Ecclesie . qui obiit viii<sup>o</sup> die mensis augusti anno  
domini millesimo cccc<sup>o</sup> . xxxi<sup>o</sup> . Cuius anima propicietur deus amen.*

*Translation.*

Here lies Sir Edward Cranford, sometime Rector of this church who died the 8th day of the month of August the year of our Lord 1431 ; on whose soul God have mercy Amen.

The lettering is cleanly cut, while the individual letters are pleasing in form, and, as far as can be judged, entirely

the work of one man ; there is no indication that the inscription was a stock pattern, as the usual characteristics of this class of brass—*i.e.*, the faulty spacing of the name of the deceased and the date of his death—are not observable.

The general design and workmanship exhibit a certain technical excellence, and, although there is a fair amount of shading, the general effect is not marred by its introduction, as is so often the case in fifteenth-century brasses. The figure stands in a devout attitude with the hands raised, the feet resting upon a base which appears to be intended to represent grass ; the representation is, however, purely conventional. Two screws are omitted in the drawing of the figure and the same number from the plate, as they somewhat mar the general effect of the brass.

#### VESTMENTS.

The figure is vested in the alb, amice, stole, maniple, and chasuble.

The alb has apparels at the sleeves and foot, those at the sleeves being of the not unusual pattern of a square figure with a conventional four-leaved flower filling the central space, while the apparel at the foot is of the usual rectangular form with the four-leaved flower and a square figure alternating diagonally. The feet of the figure, shod with somewhat pointed shoes, project beneath the bottom of the alb.

The amice, with apparels of embroidery, encircles the neck and exhibits the same features in its decorative treatment as are to be seen on the apparel of the alb.

The embroidered and fringed ends of the stole show beneath the chasuble, and the pattern is very similar in detail to that of the apparels of the alb and amice.

The maniple, with fringed ends, hangs over the left arm and, as is usually the case, exhibits the same type of embroidery as that to be seen on the stole.

The chasuble is perfectly plain, without any ornaments, and is shown coming to the usual somewhat obtuse point and reaching to within about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  in. of the apparel of the alb.

The head of the figure shows the usual somewhat conventional arrangement of the hair, and the tonsure is clearly indicated; there is no evidence, however, of any attempt to indicate the nails or joints of the fingers.

On the whole, while this particular brass exhibits no unusual features, it is a not unpleasing example of a type of monument by no means uncommon in this country.



## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18TH, 1908.

R. E. LEADER, ESQ., B.A., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associates were declared duly elected :—

W. de C. Prideaux, Esq., 12, Frederick Place, Weymouth.

W. Paton, Esq., Clovelly, Friern Park, London, N.

R. Quick, Esq., Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol.

Mr. J. G. N. Clift, Honorary Secretary, gave a description, illustrated by lantern slides, of the various places visited during the Congress held at Carlisle in July, 1908. The most noteworthy illustrations were some fine views of the exterior and interior of Carlisle Cathedral, a number of views of Lanercost Priory, including some parts of the interior which have seldom been photographed, and views of the different faces of the Bewcastle Cross.

A description of the places visited will be found under the head of "Proceedings of the Congress" in the present volume.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 16TH, 1908.

C. H. COMPTON, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The following Associate was declared duly elected :—

B. Wadmore, Esq., 10, Kimbolton Avenue, Bedford.

Mr. R. H. Forster, Honorary Treasurer, gave an account, illustrated by lantern slides, of the excavations carried out on the site of the Roman city of Corstopitum, near Corbridge-on-Tyne, during the summer of 1908. These excavations have produced results of great interest and importance: the buildings uncovered are of large size and superior masonry, while an abundant series of small "finds" culminated in the discovery of a hoard of forty-eight gold coins of the latter part of the fourth century and a gold ring. Perhaps the most interesting slides exhibited were two which showed a number of specimens of these coins.

A more detailed account of the excavations will be printed in an early number of the *Journal*.



# British Archaeological Association.

## INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1907.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Annual Subscriptions	173 5 0	By Printing and Illustrating <i>Journal</i> (4 Parts)	137 1 2
" Arrears of Subscriptions	12 12 0	" Postage and Secretarial Expenses	25 14 9
" Sale of Publications	42 15 10	" Advertising in the <i>Advertiser</i>	1 4 8
Donations to Illustration Fund	10 6 0	" Rent for Year	13 13 0
" Profit on Weymouth Congress	44 9 6	" Sundry Expenses	8 15 0
		" Stationery and Sundry Printing	10 12 5
		" Amount transferred to Grant Fund	20 0 0
		" Balance	66 7 4
	£283 8 4		£283 8 4

## BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1907.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Creditors		By Stock of <i>Journals</i> valued at	100 0 0
" Addition to Reserve Fund	2 19 2	" Valuation of Library	250 0 0
" Balance of Grant Fund	10 10 0	" Investment in Consols	12 1 0
" Surplus Account	15 15 2	" Deposit in Savings Bank	53 17 8
Surplus, December 31st, 1906	£474 12 6	" Cash at Bank in hand	154 5 6
Add Balance for 1907	66 7 4		
	540 19 10		
	£570 4 2		£570 4 2

We have examined the Books with the Vouchers produced to us, and find the same to be correct.

30th April, 1908.

CECIL T. DAVIS }  
W. A. CATER. } *Auditors.*

This Statement was by mistake omitted from Part II.



## Archaeological Notes.

### MAUMBURY RINGS.

THOSE who attended the Weymouth Congress in 1907 will remember the visit paid to Maumbury Rings, close to Dorchester, and the interest taken by members in the question of the excavation of the site. A gratifying result of that visit was the formation of a Committee, on which the Association was represented by Messrs. Keyser, Leader, Forster, and Clift, for the purpose of carrying out such excavations as should be thought necessary for the solution of the problems which the site presents, and the Committee were fortunately able to secure the services of Mr. H. St. George Gray, who conducted the work with his well-known skill and care, from the 15th to the 29th of September, 1908. An Interim Report by Mr. Gray has recently been issued to subscribers, but further excavation will be necessary before it is possible to attempt a definite solution of the problems involved.

The structure known as Maumbury Rings has, like many similar but smaller works in this country,<sup>1</sup> usually been regarded as a Roman amphitheatre, and its position, close to the Roman town of Durnovaria, lends colour to the theory. A few archaeologists, however, have regarded it as a sun-temple of prehistoric origin; but their suggestion that the opening in the embankment allowed the rays of the rising sun to pass along the long axis of the structure and strike upon the rising floor of the opposite end, has been proved to be incorrect, though this does not imply that the embankment is not of prehistoric origin.

Maumbury is not mentioned by Leland and Camden, but was first noticed by Sir Christopher Wren when he visited the neighbourhood to select Portland stone for St. Paul's Cathedral. The dimensions of the earthwork are as follows:—

Long axis, from N.N.E. to S.S.W. ...	213 ft. to 220 ft.
Transverse axis ... ..	162 ft.
Length of the entrance way ...	58 ft.
Width of the entrance way ...	40 ft.
Maximum height of bank ...	29.17 ft.
Minimum height of bank ...	21.6 ft.

The external dimensions are 345 ft. on the long axis by 333 ft.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gray includes in his list the supposed amphitheatre on the north side of the Roman Wall, close to Borecivius, but this has definitely been proved to be a quarry.

It is not improbable that the original entrance was not so wide as it is at present, part of the banks having been ploughed away on either side. This seems to be confirmed by a cutting made across the middle of the entrance, at right angles to the long axis of the arena. At the extreme ends of the cutting the solid chalk was found at a depth of less than a foot below the present surface; but in the middle, for a length of over 30 ft., it was much deeper; on the west it sloped downwards to a depth of 6.8 ft., while on the east there was a level ledge, about 4 ft. below the surface and a little over 4 ft. wide. The material overlying this ledge was of a different character to that observed elsewhere, and contained mediæval and later shards to a depth of 4 ft.; it was also found that the ledge itself, together with a thin layer, a foot broad, of rammed chalk resting on the silting of the deeper part of the cutting, had formed the bottom of a secondary trench, 4.1 ft. deep, 10.5 ft. wide at the top, and 5.3 ft. wide at the bottom. This ledge is regarded by some as part of the original construction of the entrance; but it is quite possible that it was of much later date, and may even belong to the Civil War period. In the deeper excavation in the middle two pieces of red "Samian" and four other pieces of Roman pottery were found, while a coin of Carausius and one of Constantine I of an uncommon type occurred at a depth of 3 ft.

Several cuttings were made in the arena with a view to ascertaining whether the level chalk floor, found in the cuttings in or near the entrance, continued across the arena. This was found to be the case; the floor was level and had been stained a light reddish-brown colour, probably by continuous exposure to the sun and rain. It had been covered with a gravelly substance, which corresponds with a shingle that occurs in the immediate neighbourhood: this would take the place of the sand with which, as the term itself denotes, the Romans used to strew the arena of an amphitheatre. The fragments of pottery and other objects found in these cuttings were unfortunately so mixed up as to be of no value for dating purposes, as most of the mould covering the arena seems to have been brought from elsewhere. Only thirteen years ago a hundred loads of soil were brought from Cedar Park, Dorchester—a site on which Roman relics are common.

One of these cuttings revealed a group of stones, measuring from 8 in. to 20 in. long, and averaging 3 in. in thickness, and occupying an almost circular area, 2.6 ft. in diameter. Further to the east was a row of six post-holes, practically in a straight line and covering a distance of 18 ft.: apparently a trench had been cut in the chalk for the reception of the posts, which had been packed round with rammed chalk. In one of the post-holes were found traces of charred oak and

twelve iron nails and fragments, and several fragments of Roman pottery occurred close at hand, together with a "second brass" of Claudius (A.D. 41-45), which was found at a depth of just over 6 ft.

The arena floor in proximity to the line of post-holes was bounded on the east by a solid chalk wall of an average height of 4.6 ft. above the chalk floor. It was clear that this chalk wall had been protected from the weather, and probably this was done by a palisading of fine hurdle-work, carried on stakes fixed in the post-holes. Nothing undoubtedly pre-Roman was found in this part of the excavations, and post-Roman objects occurred only in the surface deposits.

Another cutting was made over the embankment on the north-north-west side of the Rings, with the object of ascertaining whether any traces of tiers of seats could be discovered under the turf. No indications of seats or ledges for seats were found, and though it is not impossible that the banks may have been fitted up with some wooden structure, no evidence has yet been found to indicate that such was the case. The terrace, which runs along the side of the embankment, on the interior slope, was found to be an addition to the earlier structure, the old turf line of which was traceable. Much glazed pottery of late date, including pieces which can be ascribed to the seventeenth century, was found in the material forming the terrace, most of it on the surface of the turf of the old embankment.

The cutting last mentioned was extended for the purpose of tracing the arena floor, part of which was found to consist of a thin layer of rammed chalk, overlying made earth which extended downwards for a considerable distance and contained pre-Roman relics only, while on the rammed chalk or just above it were several Roman objects, including iron shears, an iron javelin head, and a large bronze fibula. It was clear that the arena floor had been carried over the upper deposits of a prehistoric pit, which was accordingly cleared, though the work involved deep and heavy digging. In the upper part a quantity of flint flakes and chippings were found, apparently the remains of a Neolithic flint workshop, together with nodules of flint, cores, and hammerstones, but only six of the flakes showed signs of secondary chipping. Below a depth of 13 ft. or 14 ft. worked flint was not common; but at a lower level portions of red deer antlers were found, and between a point 16.2 ft. below the surface and the bottom of the shaft (30 ft.) no less than nine antler picks were discovered, most of them showing indications of prolonged use. Some of the antlers have been very massive, one specimen having a circumference of 8 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. just above the burr. It appears that the finer work of chipping



took place when the pit had to a large extent become filled up. Only a certain quantity of flint would be obtained from this pit, the lower part of which would then be filled in, while the upper and wider part would form a sheltered hollow for the workers. When the supply so obtained was exhausted, in all probability a fresh shaft would be sunk close at hand, and it is possible that future excavations may bring to light other pits of the same kind at Maunbury.

#### A RECOVERED BRASS.

WE are indebted to the Rev. Canon Prior, Vicar of Mansfield, Notts., for a note on a small monumental brass which was stolen some years ago from Mansfield Church, and has recently been recovered. The brass, 8 in. long by 5 in. in height, bears the following inscription:—

“Exspectans expectaui Dominum.  
Intendit mihi, exaudiuit, eduxit &(e).  
Ursula Jonns Walker marita, ingenio,  
Forma, pietate, minor nullā, Divina bonitate  
Ergastulum valetudinis ac taedii reserante  
Christi liberta mature ciuitatem Dei repet(iit)  
Apr. 10 m d e l i i.”

The opening lines are from the Vulgate version of Ps. xl. The registers of the church record the burial of John Walker in 1659.





## Notices of Books.

SCREENS AND GALLERIES IN ENGLISH CHURCHES. By FRANCIS BOND.  
Oxford University Press. 1908.

UNTIL we had the pleasure of welcoming this book of Mr. Bond's, the labour involved in obtaining even a rough idea of the many fine examples of screen work in this country was very great. Scattered through more than half a hundred publications are to be found photographs, drawings, and descriptions of various screens; but to have the somewhat scattered details thus collected in such a handy and attractive form is a very great boon.

We entirely share Mr. Bond's admiration for the painted screens of Norfolk and Suffolk, most of which we have visited and studied with some degree of care, and we entirely endorse the opinion that much of their beauty is owing to the fact that "there is nothing of uniformity in the designs, and consequently nothing of monotony." One day, perhaps, but not in our time, men will throw off the iron bondage of mechanical aids to precision, return once more to the methods of their long dead ancestors, and trust to the cunning of hand and eye alone.

We note that the last church band disappeared in 1895, according to Mr. Bond; and if this refers to Dorset bands, we will not gainsay the statement. But we seem to remember assisting in a choir some years later than the date mentioned where the instrumental music was provided by a 'cello, violin, cornet, and harmonium. It may be, however, that the cornet was merely introduced on this one occasion only, but as far as we know the 'cello and violin are still supplying the bulk of the music in that building; for the harmonium had certainly seen its best days.

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FONTS AND FONT COVERS. By FRANCIS BOND. Oxford University Press. 1908.

THIS is another monument, not only to the industry of Mr. Bond, but to the good nature of those who have in various ways aided and abetted him in its production. Mr. Bond says frankly in the preface,

that without the help of archaeologists and photographers all over the country it would have been impossible to produce the book at all, except at a prohibitive price; that being the case, book lovers are to be congratulated, as this volume makes no unduly severe assault on their purses. Many a pleasant memory is recalled by even a hurried glance through the book; for here are gathered together all the best examples of both fonts and font-covers now to be seen in this country. The various steps in the evolution of the font are clearly indicated, and the gradual decrease in size, owing to the more general observance of the custom of infant baptism, is clearly pointed out. So far as this country is concerned, Mr. Bond states that a canon of the time of King Edgar enjoined the baptism of infants within thirty-seven days of birth. With the general observance of infant baptism the method of administering the sacrament also naturally changed, and partial submersion was substituted for semi-immersion.

Some curious objects have been adapted at various periods to serve the purpose of a font. Portions of Roman columns have been used at Kenchester (Hereford), Wroxeter, and possibly at Mersea (Essex), although this latter is of doubtful authenticity. At Hexham, too, there is a font measuring 3 ft. 2½ in. in diameter, which Mr. Bond suggests may have come from Corbridge, but, so far as we are aware, no fragments of columns of anything like so large a size have yet been disinterred. However, there is probably a good deal more of Corstopitum still to be excavated, and we shall be interested to hear whether any confirmation of Mr. Bond's suggestion is met with.<sup>1</sup>

Roman altars have been adapted and used as fonts at Haydon Bridge, Chollerton, and St. John Lee, Northumberland, while pre-Conquest cross-shafts have been utilised, either to form the whole font or the base, at Penmon (Anglesey), Rothbury (Northumberland), Dolton (Devon), Roborough, and elsewhere.

Generally, this book is a notable achievement, and although a few misprints have crept in, these should entirely disappear when a second edition is brought out. In any event, they do not materially detract from the pleasure afforded by a perusal of the volume.

<sup>1</sup> Of this font Mr. C. C. Hodges, in his work on Hexham Abbey, says: "The bowl is of circular form, of great size, plain, and massive. Its only decoration is a semi-circular moulding or band round the upper portion. Its general appearance, and the manner in which the stone has been dressed, give some colour to the supposition that it is of pre-Conquest date, and that in the thirteenth century it was mounted on a stem ornamented with four engaged shafts, between which the dog-tooth flower is worked." The largest column base yet found at Corstopitum is 2 ft. 4 in. square on the plinth. In our opinion, if this bowl is of Roman origin, it has been reworked.

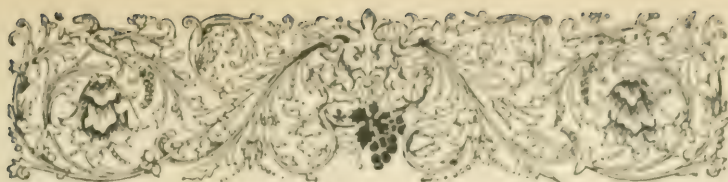
THE ITINERARY OF JOHN LELAND. Vol. IV. Edited by LUCY TOULMIN SMITH. George Bell and Sons. 1908.

THE fourth volume of this new edition of John Leland's Itinerary in England and Wales maintains the high standard of the preceding volumes. Some few errors are, of course, almost bound to creep in but we have detected none of a serious character. Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith may be heartily congratulated upon the approaching completion of her task, as we believe that only one more volume has to be seen through the press. The value of a really critical text such as this, accompanied as it is by many notes indicating the source of any words that are now undecipherable in the original, can hardly be overestimated. The identification of place-names, some of which are spelled in a fashion curious to modern eyes, and the provision of three very excellent maps, showing very clearly the probable routes taken by Leland, are features which are likely to render this edition indispensable to the student. There are two very good indices, the one giving the names of persons and landowners, and the other dealing with place-names and subjects.

The printing, paper, binding, and general effect of the volumes are all of their respective kinds most excellent, and it is to be hoped that the work will meet with the success which it most undoubtedly deserves.







## Obituary.

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### SIR THOMAS BROOKE, BART., F.S.A.

THIS well-known Yorkshire antiquary was born on May 31st, 1830, and was the son of Thomas Brooke of Northgate House, Hanley. He was educated at Cheltenham College, and engaged in commercial pursuits in Huddersfield: he was a director of the London and North Western Railway, a Justice of the Peace for the West Riding for forty-four years, and Chairman of Quarter Sessions. He was three times married, but died without issue. He was President of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society for nearly forty-two years, was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on May 25th, 1871, and joined our Society in 1874. He owned the manuscript of the Chartulary of Selby Abbey, and printed the same at his own cost in two volumes of the Record Series of the Yorkshire Society. He was Vice-President of the Surtees Society and a member of the Early English Text Society, the Roxburgh Club (for which he published a beautiful edition of the *Met: Pontifical*, of which he owned the manuscript), the Henry Bradshaw Society, and others. He was an Honorary Freeman of Huddersfield. He died on July 16th, 1908, at Armitage Bridge, near that town. His portrait forms the frontispiece to Volume XX of the Yorkshire Society's *Proceedings*.

T. CANN HUGHES.

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### ROBERT HOVENDEN, F.S.A.

THE Society has to mourn the loss of one of its Vice Presidents, Mr. Robert Hovenden, F.S.A., of Heathcote, Parkhill Road, Croydon, who died on November 16th, 1908. He was elected Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on March 1st, 1888, and joined us on November 3rd, 1897. He was elected to the Council on May 4th, 1898, and chosen a Vice President on May 4th, 1904. He was also a Member of the Council of the Surrey Archaeological Society, and a Fellow and one of the Vice Presidents of the Huguenot Society of London. Mr.

Hovenden's labours were mostly in genealogical research, where his accurate editing and transcription were of much importance. Among several works on which he was engaged, we may mention *The Registers of the Christenings, Marriages, and Burials in Canterbury Cathedral* (1878), and *The Registers of the Wallon or Stranger's Church in Canterbury* (1891). He also edited several volumes for the Harleian Society, and contributed many papers to other archæological publications. His loss will be much felt in these special branches of archæological research, where careful work and scholarship are needed.

---

### JOHN LEWIS ROGET.

MR. J. L. ROGET, son of Dr. Peter Mark Roget, who compiled and edited Roget's *Thesaurus*, a valuable book of linguistic reference, graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar, but did not practice extensively. He was one of the first Fellows of the Huguenot Society of London, founded in 1885, and wrote an exhaustive treatise on the *History of the Old Water Colour Society*. He was a collector of Kentish works and drawings, and generally attended the Annual Congress of the British Archæological Association. Mr. Roget was a skilful artist, and collected judiciously several examples of the early Water Colour School. He died on November 11th, 1908, after a long illness.



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1908





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## NOTE

THIS Index was begun under the auspices of the Congress of Archaeological Societies in union with the Society of Antiquaries. Its success being assured, the Congress have placed it in the hands of the publishers to continue yearly.

The value of the Index to archaeologists is now recognized. Every effort is made to keep its contents up to date and continuous, but it is obvious that the difficulties are great unless the assistance of the societies is obtained. If for any reason the papers of a society are not indexed in the year to which they properly belong, the plan is to include them in the following year; and whenever the papers of societies are brought into the Index for the first time they are then indexed from the year 1891.

By this plan it will be seen that the year 1891 is treated as the commencing year for the Index, and that all transactions published in and since that year will find their place in the series.

To make this work complete an index of the transactions from the beginning of archaeological societies down to the year 1890 is needed. This work is now completed and copies may be obtained from the publishers, MESSRS. ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & Co., LTD.

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 Churches and priories: *Adamson, Allen, Anderson, Baring-Gould, Bartleet, Bates, Bond, Borrowman, Brigstocke, Brocklehurst, Buckingham, Burton, Cayley, Chadwyck-Healey, Chancellor, Charlton, Church, Clephan, Cocks, Cox, Curling, Dale, Davies, Dicker, Dixon, Duncan, Dyne, Edge, Edleston, Elton, Fellows, Fishbourne, Fitzgerald, Fletcher, Gill, Gourlay, Hallam, Hancock, Haswell, Houghton, Johnston, Jones, Keyser, Lacy, Langdon, Laver, Macnamara, Millard, Munich, Niven, Norman, Nourse, Palmer, Pearson, Pollard (H. P.), Pollard (H. T.), Potter, Powell, Prideaux, Redstone, Reed, Reere, Reichel, Reynolds, Salter, Sinclair, Somerville, Standish, Street, Stubbs, Vincent, Weaver, Weigall, Wiltshire, Wooler*.  
 Churchwardens' accounts: *Baker, Davis, Ellis, Lega-Weekes, Walters, Weddall*.  
 Churelyard monuments and inscriptions: *Reid*.  
 Cinerary urns: *Abercromby, Callender*.  
 Cirencester: *Sinclair*.  
 City Companies: *Nicholl, Northumberland, Welch*.  
 Chairvans: *Fowler*.  
 Clausentum: *Dale*.  
 Clare: *Frost, Knowles, Westropp*.  
 Claro: *Baidon*.  
 Cleeve: *Bramble, Weaver, Weigall*.  
 Clergy lists: *Adamson*.  
 Clive: *Fletcher*.  
 Clonmenna: *Westropp*.  
 Cobham: *Smith*.  
 Coelbren: *Morgan*.  
 Colburn: *Wooler*.  
 Colechester: *Benham, Laver*.  
 Colleges: *Were, Williams*.  
 Colonsay: *Anderson*.  
 Colyton: *Radford*.  
 Commerce and trade: *Bilson, Chapman*.  
 Communion tokens: *Brook*.  
 Connaught: *Byrne*.  
 Cooking-pit: *Colyer*.  
 Corbridge: *Woolley*.  
 Cornbury: *Gerish*.  
 Cornwall: *Baring-Gould, Carlyon-Britton, Cornwall, Langdon, Peter*.  
*See "Harlyn Bay," "Turo."*  
 Corstopitum: *Woolley*.  
 Cottered: *Aylott, Pollard*.  
 County divisions: *see also "Parishes."*  
 Claro Wapentake: *Baidon*.  
 Newark Wapentake: *Elgar*.  
 Tithing of Plush: *Ravenhill*.  
 Cranogs: *Hull*.  
 Crathie: *Macdonald*.  
 Crosses: *Whitham*.  
 Crete: *Mackenzie, Xanthoudidea*.  
 Crich ware: *Smith*.  
 Crocolana: *Woolley*.  
 Cromwell: *Thornton*.  
 Crosby: *Webb*.  
 Croscombe: *Lyte, Somerville*.  
 Crosshows: *Clephan*.  
 Crosses, *see also "Monuments"*:  
*Allen, Clark, Conder, Crawford, Pope, Stevenson, Westropp, Wooler*.  
 Croydon: *Bliss*.  
 Cuchulainn saga: *Ridgeway*.  
 Cuckfield: *Cooper*.  
 Culbone: *Bond*.  
 Cumberland: *Hodgson*. *See "Holm Cultram," "Irthington," "Riddinghall."*  
 Cwmbwyn: *Ward*.  
 Cyprus: *Jeffery*.  
 Darnask: *Hartshorn*.  
 Danbury: *Chancellor*.

- Danesfield, Watton : *Pollard*.  
 Danish antiquities : *Allison*.  
 Darlington : *Wooler*.  
 Dartmoor : *Burnard*.  
 Dean : *Conder*.  
 Deeds, documents, etc., *see also*  
 "Municipal documents": *Bowles*,  
*Burman*, *Chadwick*, *Churchill*,  
*Clark-Maxwell*, *Cochran-Patrick*,  
*Craster*, *Durham*, *Nelson*, *North-*  
*umberland*, *Ogle*, *Round*, *Waller*,  
*Weddall*, *Williams*, *Wordsworth*,  
*Yorkshire*.  
 "Dentune" : *Sayers*.  
 Derbyshire : *Addy*, *Cox*, *Field*, *Mat-*  
*thews*, *Smith*. *See* "Abney,"  
 "Brough and Bathumgate,"  
 "Heanor," "Hopton," "Me-  
 landra castle," "Monyash,"  
 "Tideswell."  
 Devonshire : *Amery*, *Chanter*, *Rad-*  
*ford*, *Reed*, *Reichel*, *Thornton*,  
*Worth*. *See* "Beer," "Bovey  
 Tracey," "Chulmleigh," "Coly-  
 ton," "Dartmoor," "Exeter,"  
 "Exmoor," "Luppitt," "Men-  
 bury," "Seaton," "Shute,"  
 "South Tawton," "Tiverton."  
 Dialect : *Stenning*.  
 Diddlebury : *Martin*.  
 Dinder : *Somerville*.  
 Discs (wax) : *Dalton*.  
 Doddinghurst : *Chancellor*.  
 Dodington : *Vallance*.  
 Dog-spits : *Phillips*.  
 Domesday Book : *Frost*.  
 Donaghadee : *Milligan*.  
 Donnington : *Money*.  
 Dorchester : *Bankes*, *Clift*.  
 Dorsetshire : *Barrett*, *Brocklehurst*,  
*Clift*, *Fry*, *Pope*, *Prideaux*, *Sy-*  
*monds*. *See* "Alton Pancras,"  
 "Bridport," "Buckland New-  
 ton," "Cerne," "Dorchester,"  
 "Frampton," "North Wootton,"  
 "Piddletrenthide," "Plush,"  
 "Shaftesbury," "Whitechurch  
 Canoniconum," "Wimborne."  
 Doultling : *Weaver*.  
 Draycote-under-Needwood : *Round*.  
 Dublin : *Berry*, *Cosgrave*, *Fitzgerald*,  
*Seymour*, *Vicars*.  
 Dunbolg : *Omurethi*.  
 Dungannon : *Latimer*.  
 Dunstable : *Smith*.  
 Dunster : *Hancock*.  
 Durham : *Bradshaw*, *Craster*, *Dur-*  
*ham*, *Thompson*, *Wooler*. *See*  
 "Catrail, The," "Brancepeth,"  
 "Colburn," "Darlington,"  
 "Evenwood," "Gainford,"  
 "Grindon," "Houghton-le-  
 Spring," "Lanchester," "New-  
 ton Cap bridge (Bishop Auck-  
 land)" "Old Park Hall,"  
 "Piercebridge," "Ryton," "Sea-  
 ham," "Stockley," "Wear  
 bridge (Stanhope)," "Wolsing-  
 ham."  
 Dykes : *Wooler*.  
 East Hagbourne : *Stevenson*.  
 East Shaftoe : *Perceval*.  
 Edington : *Greswell*.  
 Eglwys Cymwyn : *Treherne*.  
 Egyptian antiquities : *Capart*, *Cle-*  
*phan*, *Nash*, *Neville*.  
 Elmstead : *Laver*.  
 Ely : *Hall*.  
 Embroideries : *Lethaby*.  
 Enamelled headstall : *Dalton*.  
 Engravings : *Cosgrave*.  
 Essex : *Christy*, *Elliot*, *Essex*, *Fow-*  
*ler*, *French*, *Gould*, *Round*. *See*  
 "Baring," "Barking," "Black-  
 moor," "Bradwell," "Chelms-  
 ford," "Chigwell," "Colches-  
 ter," "Danbury," "Dodding-  
 hurst," "Elmstead," "Faulk-  
 bourne," "Great Wakering,"  
 "Greenstead," "High Ongar,"  
 "Langford," "Leighs," "Little  
 Dunmow," "Little Halling-  
 bury," "Little Wakering," "Mal-  
 don," "Newport," "Pleshingo,"  
 "Prittlewell," "Shoeburyness,"  
 "Southchurch," "Stondon  
 Massey," "Stratford," "Walt-  
 ham Abbey," "Wethersfield"  
 "Writtle."  
 Ethnology : *Beddoe*, *Burnard*, *To*  
*day*, *Tout*.  
 Evenwood : *Auden*.  
 Evercreech : *Allen*.  
 Excavations : *Curle*.  
 Exeter : *Clarke*, *Haversfield*.  
 Exmoor : *Chanter*.  
 Fairfax : *Thornton*.  
 Farnham : *Falkner*.



Faulkbourne : *Fowler*.

Filey : *Stevenson*.

Fivehead : *Bates*.

Folklore : *Abiose, Addy, Amery, Barton, Blake, Bower, Byrne, Combeare, Cook, Cox, Craister, Feilberg, Frazer, Goodrich-Freer, Had-don, Harrison, Hartland, Hodgson, Hull, Jewitt, Johnston, De Jubainville, Kildare, Krebs, Lana, Lodi, Lones, Lynch, Macdonald, Macnamara, Marchione, McKen-zie, Milne, Mortimer, Myres, Nutt, Paton, Peacock, Peter, Pocock, Ridgeway, Rouse, South-am, Stigand, Thomas, Thompson, Thornton, Wakefield, Westermarck, Weston, Wood, Wooler, Wordsworth, Wright*.

Forbury : *Ravenscroft*.

Ford Abbey : *Clarence, Heath*.

Forest tenures : *Wrottesley*.

Forests : *Burnard, Chanter, Conder, Wordsworth*.

Forgas (Loch) : *Macnamara*.

Forglen : *Gray*.

Forks (wooden) : *Fitzgerald*.

Fortifications : *Burman*.

Frampton : *Barnes*.

France : *Rhys, Tomlinson*.

Frascati : *Thorp*.

Friction-drum : *Balfour*.

Friendly Societies : *Heslop, Waller*.

Fuerty : *Crawford*.

Fulmer : *Legg*.

Gainford : *Edleston*.

Garlickhithe : *Norman*.

Gateshead : *Adamson*.

Genealogy, biography and family history : *Adams, Andrews, At-tree, Auden, Baildon, Barrett, Bates, Bewley, Brodhurst, Carter, Charlton, Clark, Collier, Cornwall, Cosby, Denney, Evans, Fairbank, Filled, Fitzgerald, Fletcher, Gloucestershire, Gray, Hull, Herbert, Hodgkin, Hodgson, Horne, Kelly, Kershaw, Lee, Longden, Lumb, Minet, Nunn, Pearson, Round, Sanders, Skinner, Steele, Steven-son, Thompson, Waller, Warren, Welbeck, Westropp, Wilton*.

Gilling : *Bilson*.

Glass (Nailsen) : *Gray*.

Glastonbury : *Bulleid, Reiel*.

Glendalough : *Orpen*.

Glinsk : *Crawford*.

Gloucester : *Danery*.

Gloucestershire : *Clephan, Fryer*.

See "Bristol," "Gloucester,"

"Dean," "Newent."

Grant to Pembroke College, Oxford : *Bowles, Were*.

Great Crosby : *Goffey*.

Great Wakering : *Chancellor*.

Greek antiquities : *Dawkins, Dickins,*

*Fotheringham, Gardiner, Hasluck,*

*Mahaffy, Myres, Smith, Strzy-*

*gowski, Taru, Tillyard, Wells,*

*Xanthoudides*.

Bizye : *Dawkins*.

Boats : *Frost*.

Boeotia : *Brown, Forster*.

Cameiros : *Stokes*.

Coins : *Wroth*.

Crete : *Droop, Forster, Xanthou-*

*dides*.

Dilisi : *Brown*.

Inscriptions : *Hasluck, Hicks*.

Kynosargos : *Droop*.

Laconia : *Bosanquet*.

Menemvasia : *Miller*.

Palaikastro : *Dawkins*.

Peparethus : *Wroth*.

Pylos : *Compton*.

Præsos : *Marshall*.

Schimatari : *Brown*.

Sphacteria : *Compton*.

Sporades : *Dawkins*.

Greenstead : *Gould, Laver*.

Gresford : *Fishbourne*.

Grindon : *Reynolds, Robinson*.

Grovely Forest : *Wordsworth*.

Guisborough : *Williams*.

Halsteads : *Floyer*.

Ham Hill (Somerset) : *Walter*.

Hampshire : *Dale*. See "Christ church," "Lippen Wood (West Meon)," "Mottisfont," "Silchester," "West Meon," "Winchester."

Hampstead : *Maurice, Peck*.

Hanslope : *Cocks*.

Hanwell : *Compton*.

Harlyn Bay : *Read*.

Harrogate : *Clephan*.

- Hastings : *Hall*.  
 Hanghamond abbey : *Southam*.  
 Hawkshill : *Smith*.  
 Heanor : *Benton*.  
 Hemans, Mrs., birthplace of : *Shaw*.  
 Hemlock : *Coke*.  
 Hen Dinas (Old Oswestry) : *Nurse*.  
 Henstridge : *Barnes*.  
 Hepple Pele : *Dixon*.  
 Heraldry : *Blair, Charlton, Elliot, Fletcher, Perceval*.  
 Hereford : *Bartleet*.  
 Herne Bay : *Smith*.  
 Hertfordshire : *Anderson*. See "Abbots Langley," "Anstey," "Bishops Hatfield," "Broadfield," "Corneybury," "Cottered," "Danesfield, Watton," "Kings Langley," "Knebworth," "Standon," "Stevenage," "Throcking," "Thundridgebury," "Ware."  
 Hexham : *Hodgson*.  
 High Ongar : *Chancellor*.  
 High Wycombe : *Evans*.  
 Hinton-Waldrist : *Keyser*.  
 History : *Anwyl, Auden, Barry, Bruce Chadwick, Chance, Howorth, Turner, Webb*.  
 Hitcham : *Niven*.  
 Hoards of coins : *Blair, Dodgson, Evans*.  
 Holm Cultram : *Baxter*.  
 Holt : *Palmer*.  
 Holy Island : *Burman*.  
 Holystone : *Dixon*.  
 Hooton Pagnell : *Clark*.  
 Hopton : *Waldo*.  
 Horsey : *Powell*.  
 Hospitals : *Peile*.  
 Houghton-le-Spring : *Ramsey*.  
 Houses and buildings, historic : *Adamson, Andrew, Andrews, Aylott, Baildon, Bankes, Burton, Chadwyck-Healey, Norman, Sands, Thompson, Ventress, Vicars, Walter, Warren, Webb, Weyman*.  
 Howden : *Weddall*.  
 Howth : *Fitzgerald*.  
 Huguenots : *Philpot, Waller*.  
 Hunmanby : *Sheppard*.  
 Huntingdonshire : see "Somerham."  
 Hurl, Mary, conversion of : *Wordsworth*.  
 Implements : *Coffey, Sykes*.  
 Agricultural : *Allison*.  
 Bronze Age : *Coffey, Dale, Trotter*.  
 Domestic : *Acland, Allison, Balfour, Price*.  
 Neolithic : *Dale*.  
 Palaeolithic : *Compton*.  
 Vikings : *Price*.  
 Weapons : *Acland, Price, Sykes, Trotter*.  
 India : *Channing*.  
 Ingress abbey : *Potter*.  
 Inscriptions : *Rhys, Sayce*.  
 Celtic : *Rhys*.  
 Hittite : *Sayce*.  
 Ogham : *Rhys, Westropp*.  
 Inventories : *Essex, Fowler*.  
 Inveraray : *Curle*.  
 Ipswich : *Layard, Smith*.  
 Ireland : *Abercromby, Barry, Blake, Cary, Crawford, Fitzgerald, Lynch, Orpen, Ridgeway, Westropp, Wood*.  
 See "Abbey Owney," "Adare," "Arra," "Athlone," "Ballinamona," "Ballybricken," "Barons Court (Tyrone)," "Belturbet," "Birtown," "Boystown (Baltboys)," "Cahir," "Carlow," "Carrigogunnell," "Clare," "Clonmacnois," "Connaught," "Donaghadee," "Dublin," "Dumbolg," "Dungannon," "Forgas," "Fuerty," "Glendalough," "Glinisk," "Howth," "Kilbarron," "Kildare," "Kilfeakle," "Kilkeedy," "Kilmanum," "Kilnaboy," "Lemeneagh," "Limerick," "Lisdoonvarna," "Lismore," "MacCarthy Mòr," "Miltown Malbay," "Quin," "Rathangan," "Skaghvickinerow," "Suncroft," "Tipperary," "Tomfinlough," "Turlough Hill," "Tyrone," "Wexford."  
 Irish institutions in Belgium : *Cavenagh*.  
 Iron age remains : *Dale, Peet, Smith*.  
 Iron mines : *Fryer*.  
 Ironmongers' Company : *Nicholl*.  
 Irthington : *Allison*.  
 Islington : *Bergne, Stephenson*.  
 Italy : *Peet, Rhys*.

Japan : *Gowland*.  
Jesmond : *Dendy*.  
Jewellery : *Farquhar*.

Kent : *Duncan*. See "Canterbury,"  
"Dodington," "Herne Bay,"  
"Ingress abbey," "Plumstead,"  
"Stone."

Keynsham : *Weaver*.  
Kilbarron : *Forde*.  
Kilburn : *Munich*.  
Kildare : *Cary, Kildare, O'Leary*.  
Kilfeakle : *Coffey*.  
Kilkeedy : *Abbott*.  
Kilmanam : *Rhys*.  
Kilnaboy : *Macnamara*.  
Kings Langley : *Anderson*.  
Kirkcudbright : *Barbour*.  
Kirkpatrick-Durham : *Stark*.  
Knebworth : *Andrews*.  
"Knockfierna" Ogham stone : *Westropp*.

Lacock Abbey : *Clark-Maxwell*.  
Laconia : *Bosanquet*.  
Lagham : *Malden*.  
Lamps : *Clephan*.  
Lancashire : *Brownhill, Lancashire*.  
See "Blackpool," "Crosby,"  
"Great Crosby," "Halsteads,"  
"Liverpool," "Muchwoolton,"  
"Ribchester."

Lanchester : *Wooler*.  
Langford : *Laver*.  
Langport : *Ross*.  
Lasswady : *Reid*.  
Lea : *Howard*.  
Leather bottle : *Clephan*.  
Leeds : *Gott, Lumb, Sykes, Wilson*.  
Leigh-on-Mendip : *Bond*.  
Leighs : *Fowler*.  
Lemeneagh : *Westropp*.  
Letherhead : *Johnston*.  
Libraries : *Clark, Clark-Maxwell, Williams*.

Lichfield : *Wilson*.  
Limerick : *Barry, Dowd, Scott, Westropp*.  
Lincolnshire : see "South Ferriby,"  
"Woolsthorpe."  
Lippen Wood (West Meon) : *Williams*.  
Lisdoonvarna : *Westropp*.  
Lismore : *Armstrong*.

Little Dunmow : *Chancellor, Elliot*.  
Little Hallingbury : *Round*.  
Little Wakering : *Chancellor*.  
Liverpool : *Elton, Lumby, Shaw*.  
Llandawke : *Treharne*.  
Llanfihangel : *Davies*.  
Llansaint : *Evans*.  
Llanstephan : *Williams*.  
Loch Ard (Perthshire) : *Christison*.  
Londesborough : *Wilton*.  
London : *Bergne, Legg, Lethaby, Norman, Nunn, Price, Shore, Walters, Welch*. See "Garlick-hithe," "Hampstead," "Islington," "Kilburn," "Rotherhithe," "Southwark," "Wandsworth," "Woolwich."  
Longworth : *Keyser*.  
Luddites : *Russell*.  
Ludlow : *Weyman*.  
Luppitt : *Stephenson*.

MacCarthy Mòr : *Butler*.  
Maesbury : *Gray*.  
Maidenhead : *Young*.  
Maldon : *Chancellor, Gould*.  
Manor rolls, see also "Deeds, etc." :  
*Landor, Waller*.  
Manors, see also Parishes : *Abbott, Chanter, Hylton, Lyte, Martin, Waller*.  
Manton : *Cunnington*.  
Manuscripts : *Axon, Burman, Craster*.  
Maps : *Fordham, Gott, Sykes*.  
Marble : *Alma-Tadema*.  
Marcigny, priory of : *Wiltshire*.  
Market Crosses : see "Crosses."  
Markets : *Allen*.  
Marlborough : *Wordsworth*.  
Marriage customs : *Blake*.  
Melandra castle : *Conway*.  
Membury : *Langdon*.  
Menorca : *Guellemard*.  
Mere : *Baker*.  
Merstham : *Hylton*.  
Mettingham : *Redstone*.  
Mexico : *Garnett*.  
Middlesex : see "Hanwell," "Pinner."  
Military history : *Baillon, Blagg, Mowat*.  
Miltown Malbay : *Westropp*.  
Minchhead : *Bond, Hancock*.

- Misereres: *see* "Church misereres."  
 Monasteries: *Clark*.  
 Montford: *Drinkwater*.  
 Monuments, effigies, etc., *see also*  
   "Crosses," "Stones inscribed,"  
   and "Church monuments":  
     *Clephan, Crawford, Edge, Fal-*  
     *kiner, Fotheringham, Roper*.  
 Monyash: *Cox*.  
 More: *Clark-Maxwell*.  
 Mossoul: *Thompson*.  
 Mottisfont: *Dale*.  
 Moulds for spear-heads: *Coffey*.  
 Muchwoolton: *Gladstone*.  
 Mumming: *Addy*.  
 Mungret: *Barry*.  
 Municipal documents, deeds, etc.,  
   *see also* "Records, public":  
     *Atchly, Barnes, Bartelot, Bax,*  
     *Benham, Bowles, Drinkwater,*  
     *Hall, Ross*.  
 Music, songs, ballads, etc.: *Kildare,*  
   *Tillyard*.  
 Newbury: *Money*.  
 Newcastle: *Adamson, Dendy, Gib-*  
   *son, Heslop, Knowles, Northum-*  
   *berland, Ogle, Spence, Ventress,*  
   *Welford*.  
 Newent: *Conder*.  
 Newport: *Gould*.  
 Newstead: *Curle*.  
 Newton Cap bridge (Bishop Auck-  
   land): *Thompson*.  
 Norfolk: *Keyser*. *See* "Thetford."  
 Norman castles: *Orpen*.  
 North Berwick: *Cree, Richardson*.  
 North Curry: *Gray*.  
 Northumberland: *Brown, Martin,*  
   *Tomlinson*. *See* "Alnwick,"  
   "Apperley," "Barnard Castle,"  
   "Blyth," "Bywell," "Cor-  
   bridge," "Corstopitum," "East  
   Shaftoe," "Grindon," "Hex-  
   ham," "Holy Island," "New-  
   castle," "Otterburn," "Roches-  
   ter," "Rudchester," "Sea-  
   houses," "Seaton Delaval,"  
   "Seghill," "Simonburn,"  
   "Tynemouth," "Warkworth,"  
   "Willowford," "Woodhorn."  
 North Wootton: *Barnes*.  
 Norwegian antiquities: *Allison*.  
 Nottingham: *Clift*.  
 Nottinghamshire: *Gould, Granger,*  
   *Keyser, Russell*. *See* "Atten-  
   borough," "Crocolana," "Hem-  
   lock," "Nottingham," "Nut-  
   hall," "Southwell," "Staple-  
   ford," "Strelley."  
 Numismatics: *Carlyon - Britton,*  
   *Rhodes*.  
 Ancient British: *Blanchet, Evans,*  
   *Roth*.  
 Anglo-Saxon: *Heywood, Laurence*.  
 Carausius: *Webb*.  
 Chinese medals: *Duckworth*.  
 Coin clippings: *Cox*.  
 Cornish: *Carlyon-Britton*.  
 Devonshire: *Radford*.  
 Dorset: *Symonds*.  
 English: *Anscombe, Parsons*.  
 Forgeries: *Laurence*.  
 Greek: *Haverfield, McClean*.  
 Henry I: *Yeames*.  
 Henry IV: *Walters*.  
 Henry VIII: *Walters*.  
 James I: *Morrison*.  
 Leather: *Charlton*.  
 London: *Walters*.  
 Medals: *Duckworth, Farquhar,*  
   *Grueber, Weber*.  
 Mysia: *Hasluck*.  
 Parthia: *Howorth*.  
 Roman: *Cole, Dodgson, Gray,*  
   *Ogden, Walters*.  
 "St. Patrick's Pence": *Ogden*.  
 Saxon: *Bliss*.  
 Taras: *Vlasto*.  
 Tokens: *Brook, Hamer, Phillips,*  
   *Radford, Weightman*.  
 Touch-pieces: *Cochran-Patrick*.  
 William I and II: *Carlyon-Britton*.  
 William III: *Nelson, Parsons*.  
 Nuthall: *Gill, Holden*.  
 Oban: *Macdougall*.  
 Old Park Hall (Durham): *Thomp-*  
   *son*.  
 Ornaments, military: *Curle*.  
 Ornaments, personal, *see also*  
   "Bronze": *Anderson, Read,*  
   *Scott, Toms*.  
 Oronsay: *Anderson*.  
 Otterburn: *Hodgson*.  
 Oxford: *Bowles, Were*.  
 Oxfordshire: *Anscombe, See* "Bices-  
   ter," "Burford," "Oxford,"  
   "Stanton Harcourt."



- Paresy: Ceryg Sanctaid: *Trcherne*.  
 Pards: *Bates, Wordsworth*.  
 Pargetting: *Laver*.  
 Parish briefs: *Baily*.  
 Parish records: *see* "Municipal documents, etc."  
 Parish registers: *Barnes*.  
 Parishes, manors, lordships etc., *see also* "Manors": *Baildon, Barnes, Boches, Burton (Rev. Edison), Burton (Rev. R.), Butler, Carlile, Cooper, Cog, Ravenhill, Round, Sayers, Southwell, Squires, Stevenson, Stubbs, Tomlinson, Tooker, Trcherne, Waller, Wolder*.  
 Penances: *Hall*.  
 Pentland: *Reid*.  
 Peparethus: *Wroth*.  
 Persia: *Greenwell, Sykes*.  
 Pevensey: *Dawson*.  
 Piddletrentthide: *Dicker*.  
 Piercebridge: *Wolder*.  
 Pilton: *Bates*.  
 Pinner: *Greenside*.  
 Pipes: *Thursfield*.  
 Place-names: *Stevenson*.  
 Plans and drawings: *Adams*.  
 Playing cards: *Fletcher*.  
 Pleshingo: *Waller*.  
 Plumstead: *Vincent*.  
 Plush: *Ravenhill*.  
 Poghley: *Salter*.  
 Porlock: *Chadwyck-Healey*.  
 Portraits: *Cornwall*.  
 Pottery: *Falkner*.  
     Early English: *Goodman*.  
     Gallo-Roman: *Tomlinson*.  
     Roman: *Dale*.  
 Portugal: *Chapman*.  
 Prehistoric remains: *Braithwaite, Callander, French, Langdon, Trench, Westropp*.  
     Antilles: *Jager*.  
     Boats: *Bulleid*.  
     Buildings: *Guellemard, Westropp*.  
     Bullauns: *Moore*.  
     Burnals: *Filly, Fleming*.  
     Caves and pits: *Andrews*.  
     Circles (stone): *Coles, Gray*.  
     Cists: *Callander, Westropp*.  
     Cromlechs: *Cochrane, Lynch*.  
     Dolmens: *Westropp*.  
     Drinking cups: *Callander*.  
     Dykes: *Benton*.  
     Earthworks: *Aylott, Benton, Clift, Cobbold, Cokes, Pollard, Westropp, Worth*.  
     Forts: *Barbour, Westropp*.  
     Holed stones: *Fraser*.  
     Implements: *Acland, Clift, Gray*.  
     Kitchen middens: *Knoches, Rackardson*.  
     Lake dwellings: *Bulleid, Reid*.  
     Man: *Auden, Burnard*.  
     Neolithic: *Clift*.  
     Palaeolithic: *Lagard*.  
     Pillars: *Westropp*.  
     Roads: *Benton*.  
     Round towers: *Bruce*.  
     Stone balls: *Munro*.  
     Tumuli: *Andrews*.  
     Urns: *Fleming, Milligan*.  
     Urns, cinerary: *Abercromby, Callander*.  
     Weapons: *Callander*.  
     Presthope: *Barton*.  
     Printing: *Fraser*.  
     Prittlewell: *Chancellor*.  
     Practors: *Duckworth*.  
     Prussian antiquities: *Allison*.  
     Pylos: *Compton*.  
  
 Queen Eleanor crosses: *Pope*.  
 Quin: *Macnamara*.  
  
 Ramsay: *Richardson*.  
 Raleghana: *Brushfield*.  
 Rathangan: *Fitzgerald*.  
 Reeling: *Colyer*.  
 Records, ecclesiastical: *Renshaw*.  
 Records, public, *see also* "Municipal documents": *Boyd, Cary, Dendy, Fallows, Phillips*.  
 Remesley: *Aylott*.  
 Ribchester: *Haverfield*.  
 Richmond: *Hilditch*.  
 Riddinghall: *Allison*.  
 Rochester (Northumberland): *Cagnat*.  
 Roman remains: *Haverfield, Yeames*.  
     Aldburgh: *Ganz*.  
     Altars: *Knowles*.  
     Baden: *Lewis*.  
     Bas-relief: *Cagnat*.  
     Berkshire: *Stevenson*.  
     Bicester: *Haverfield*.  
     Bricks (unscrubbed): *Dawson*.  
     Bridges: *Haslark*.

- Campagna : *Ashby*.  
 Camps : *Conway*.  
 Camulodunum : *Laver*.  
 Chester : *Haswell*.  
 Clausentum : *Dale*.  
 Coins : *Walters*.  
 Corbridge : *Woolley*.  
 Corstopitum : *Woolley*.  
 Crocolana : *Woolley*.  
 Cwmbrwyn : *Ward*.  
 Forts : *Addy, Wooler*.  
 Keys : *Copeland*.  
 Lanchester : *Wooler*.  
 Newbury : *Money*.  
 Ornaments : *Curle*.  
 Pavements : *Laver*.  
 Pottery : *Dale, Smith*.  
 Reliefs : *Wace*.  
 Ribchester : *Haverfield*.  
 Roads : *Addy, McMurtrie*.  
 Rudchester : *Haverfield*.  
 Silchester : *Hanbury*.  
 Somersham : *Fryer*.  
 Villas : *Auden, Walter, Williams*.  
 Wall : *Hodgson*.  
 Weapons : *Acland*.  
 Rome : *Ashby, Churchill, Forbes, Hebb, Howorth, Thorp*.  
 Rotherhithe : *Norman*.  
 Round towers : *Orpen, Ross*.  
 Ruberslaw : *Curle*.  
 Rye : *Borrowman, Johnston, Sands*.  
 Ryton : *Baily*.
- Saints, catalogue of : *Baring-Gould*.  
 Scandinavia : *Magnússon*.  
 Scarborough : *Stevenson*.  
 School admission books : *Wilson*.  
 Schools : *Goffey, McCall, Ramsey, Savage, Williams, Wilson*.  
 Scotland : *Abercromby, Brook, Coles, Fraser, Gray, Livingstone*. See "Aberdeenshire," "Colonsay," "Crathie," "Forglen," "Inveraray," "Kirkeudbright," "Kirkpatrick-Durham," "Lasswade," "Loch Ard (Perthshire)," "Newstead," "North Berwick," "Oban," "Oronsay," "Pentland," "Raasay," "Ruberslaw," "Tappock broch."
- Sculpture : *Collingwood*.  
 Seaham harbour : *Robinson*.  
 Seahouse : *Filby*.
- Seals : *Andrews*.  
 Seaton : *Skinner*.  
 Seaton Delaval : *Adamson, Clephan*.  
 Seghill : *Tomlinson*.  
 Selby : *Compton*.  
 Selworthy : *Hancock*.  
 Shaftesbury : *Filleul*.  
 Shambles : *Allen*.  
 Shapwick : *Bulleid*.  
 Shepreth : *Hughes*.  
 Shepton Mallet : *Allen, Lyte*.  
 Shetland : *Bruce, Fotheringham*.  
 Ship-burials : see "Burials, etc."  
 Shoburness : *Trench*.  
 Shoreham : *Green*.  
 Shrewsbury : *Blakeway, Drinkwater, Fletcher*.  
 Shropshire : *Auden, Clark-Maxwell, Cobbold, Fletcher, Thursfield, Walters*. See "Battlefield," "Bitterley school," "Clive," "Diddebury," "Haughmond Abbey," "Hen Dinas (Old Oswestry)," "Ludlow," "Shrewsbury," "Tong," "Upper-Millichope," "Wigley," "Worfield."
- Shute : *Nourse*.  
 Sierra Leone : *Wright*.  
 Silchester : *Hanbury*.  
 Simonburn : *Northumberland*.  
 Skaghvickincrow : *Macnamara*.  
 Somersetshire : *Allison, Barnes, Bond, Chadwyck-Healey, Gray, Greswell*. See "Batcombe," "Bratton court," "Cannington," "Ches-terblade," "Cleeve," "Croscombe," "Culbone," "Dinder," "Doulting," "Dunster," "Edington," "Evercreech," "Fivehead," "Glastonbury," "Ham Hill," "Henstridge," "Horsey," "Keynsham," "Langport," "Leigh-on-Mendip," "Maesbury," "Minehead," "North-curry," "Pilton," "Porlock," "Selworthy," "Shapwick," "Shepton Mallet," "Stoke-sub-Hamdon," "West Cranmore," "Withypool."
- Somersham : *Fryer*.  
 Songs : see *Music*.  
 Sonning : *Berkshire*.  
 Southampton.  
 Southchurch : *Chancellor*.  
 South Ferriby : *Roth*.  
 South Harting : *Roberts*.

South Malling: *Renshaw, Rice.*  
 South Tawton: *Legu-Weekes.*  
 Southwark: *Fleay.*  
 Southwell: *Gill.*  
 Sphaerium: *Compton.*  
 Sports: *Engholm, Wood.*  
 Staffordshire: *Boyd, Wrottesley. See*  
     "Alrewas," "Barr," "Lich-  
     field."  
 Standon: *Burton.*  
 Stanford Dingley: *Lacey.*  
 Stanington: *Jones.*  
 Stanton Harcourt: *Money.*  
 Stapleford: *Fellows, Hill.*  
 Stevenage: *Andrews, Millard.*  
 Stockley: *Wooler.*  
 Stocks: *Rutherford.*  
 Stoke D'Abernon: *Johnston.*  
 Stoke-sub-Hamdon: *Walter.*  
 Stondon Massey: *Reece.*  
 Stone (Bucks): *Cocks.*  
 Stone (Kent): *Potter.*  
 Stones, inscribed and sculptured,  
     (see also "Monuments, etc."):  
     *Acland, Bilson, Coke, Pritchett,*  
     *Rhys, Richardson, Smith, Turner,*  
     *Westropp.*  
 Stratford: *Fowler.*  
 Street-names: *Brown.*  
 Strelley: *Edge, Hill.*  
 Suffolk: *Casley, Symonds. See* "Alde-  
     burgh," "Bury," "Ipswich,"  
     "Mettingham."  
 Sulliam: *Shrubsole.*  
 Suncroft: *Joyce.*  
 Sunningdale: *Shrubsole.*  
 Surrey: *Baz, Malden. See* "By-  
     leet," "Cobham," "Croydon,"  
     "Farnham," "Hawkshill,"  
     "Lagham," "Letherhead,"  
     "Merstham," "Richmond,"  
     "Stoke D'Abernon," "Walling-  
     ton," "Weybridge."  
 Sussex: *C., Hudson, Rice, Stenning.*  
     *See* "Brighton," "Chichester,"  
     "Cuckfield," "Denture," "Has-  
     tings," "Pevensey," "Rye,"  
     "Shoreham," "South Harting,"  
     "South Malling," "Wooden-  
     dean."  
 Swainmote Courts: *Chanter.*  
 Tapestries: *James.*  
 Tappock brook: *Ross.*  
 Temples: *Wood.*

Temple Chelking: *Aglott.*  
 Temple Newsum: *Reatherwhite.*  
 Thame: *Ellis.*  
 Thetford: *Evans.*  
 Thorner: *L.*  
 Throcking: *Andrews.*  
 Thundridgebury: *Geriah.*  
 Tideswell: *Smith.*  
 Tidmarsh: *G.*  
 Timekeepers of the Ancient Britons:  
     *Smith.*  
 Tipperary: *Scott.*  
 Tiverton: *Skinner.*  
 Tivoli: *Thorp.*  
 Tobacco stopper: *Bowles.*  
 Tomfinlough: *Macnamara.*  
 Tong: *Auden.*  
 Topography: *Ashby, Blakeway.*  
 Treasure Trove: *Fraser.*  
 Tre'r Ceiri: *Dawkins, Hughes.*  
 Trinity House, Corporation of: *Nunn.*  
 Tristan and Iseult: *Peter.*  
 Truro: *Jennings.*  
 Turlough Hill: *Westropp.*  
 Tynemouth: *Rutherford.*  
 Typography: *Welford.*  
 Tyrone: *Coffey.*  
 Uphall camp: *Crouch.*  
 Upper Millichope: *Hope-Edwardes.*  
 Vicarages and rectories: *Craster.*  
 Vicars: *Cooper.*  
 Vikings: *Price.*  
 Villenage: *Malden.*  
 Wales: *Ogden, Rhys. See* "Car-  
     marthen," "Carnarvon," "Cael-  
     bren," "Cwmbrwyn," "Eglwys  
     Cymwyn," "Holt," "Llan-  
     dawke," "Llanfihangel," "Llan-  
     saint," "Llanstephan," "Pare y  
     Ceryg Sanctaidd," "Tre'r-Ceiri."  
 Wallington: *Clinch.*  
 Waltham Abbey: *Tooker.*  
 Wandsworth: *Davis.*  
 Ware: *Pollard.*  
 Warkworth: *Hodgson.*  
 Warwickshire: *Benton, Houghton.*  
     *See* "Birmingham."  
 Wath: *Chadwick.*

- Wear bridge (Stanhope) : *Thompson*.  
 Wellington, Duke of : *Tomlinson*.  
 Wells : *McKenzie, Omurethi*.  
 West Cranmore : *Allen*.  
 West Meon : *Williams*.  
 Wethersfield : *Waller*.  
 Wexford : *Ffrench*.  
 Weybridge : *Dale, Smith*.  
 Whitechurch Canonicoium : *Prideaux, Stubbs*.  
 Wigley : *Weyman*.  
 Wills : *Barnes, Bartelot, Partridge, Rice, Waller*.  
 Wiltshire : *Wiltshire*. See "Avebury," "Baynton," "Grovely Forest," "Mere," "Manton," "Marlborough."  
 Wimborne : *Fletcher*.  
 Winchester : *Williams*.  
 Withypoole : *Gray*.  
 Wolsingham : *Wooler*.  
 Woodendean : *Toms*.  
 Woodhorn : *Rhodes*.  
 Woolsthorpe : *Hill*.  
 Woolwich : *Church, Duncan, Vincent*.  
 Worfield : *Walters*.  
 Writtle : *Chancellor*.  
 Wycliffe : *Pritchett*.  
 York : *Bilson*.  
 Yorkshire : *Allison, Beddoe, Cole, Collingwood, Fallows, Lloyd, Sheppard, Wordsworth, Yorkshire*.  
 See "Acaster Malbis," "Adel," "Burneston," "Catterick," "Clairvaux," "Claro," "Filey," "Gilling," "Guisborough," "Harrogate," "Hootton Pagnell," "Howden," "Hunmanby," "Leeds," "Londesborough," "Scarborough," "Selby," "Temple Newsam," "Thorner," "Wath," "Wycliffe," "York."







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